

12  
A  
SURVEY OF  
THE GREAT  
DUKES STATE  
of *Tuscany*.

In the yeare of our Lord  
1596.



AT LONDON  
Printed for *Edward Blount*.

1605.

[15]

A  
REVIEW OF  
THE GREAT  
DIVERSITY

In the years of our Lord



AT LONDON  
Printed for James and Blount

1702



To my worshipfull good friend  
*Maister Robert*  
Dalington.

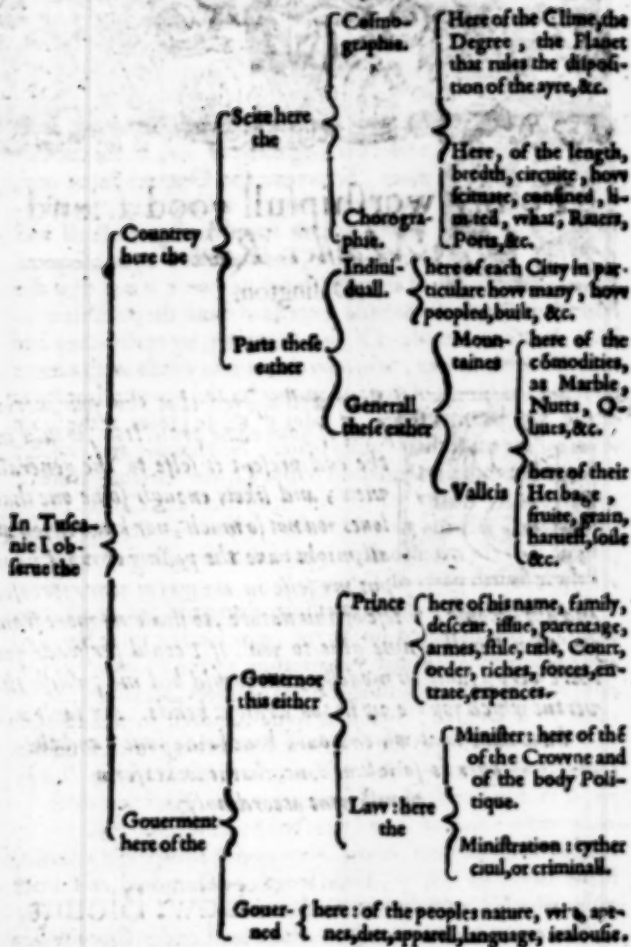
Sir:



Being well assured that this your worke  
(out of your owne protection) would in  
the end present it selfe to the generall  
view; and likely enough some one that  
loues you not so much, nor knowes you at  
all, might haue the passing of it. I haue  
put my selfe in the way of your reproofe,  
and am become a theefe of this nature, to steale no more from  
you then I will againe giue to you. If I could perswade you  
there were a fault in modesty; you would bid me publish the  
vertue which you tie up in so straight bonds. My fault is, I  
haue done that which would haue beene done; and the  
offer is so full of loue, that it lookes for a  
punishment accordingly.

Edw: Blount.

# The Analysis of this discourse.





# THE SVRVEY OF THE great Dukes State of *Tuscany.*



*Tuscany*, anciently called *Hetruria*, lieth <sup>The</sup> vnder the Regiment of *Sol*, in the fift Climate, <sup>Clima.</sup> betweene the Degrees fortie one, and fortie four: a Countrey almost equally distant from the Equinoctiall and North-pole, and therefore by consequent of an ayre temperate, were it not that the

Montaines cause some little excessle of both the passible qualities, heate and colde. Of this in winter, by reason they bee mantled with snowe, whereby the winde viureth with a more piercing sharpnes: of that in sommer, by the repercussive force of the Sun-beames from the sides of those Hilles, at the foote whereof are most their Cities seated. Not hauing any valleyes so large but that the scituation of the Towne therein, makes it communicate in the passion of both these extreames. For as writers well affirme that the hills *Appennines* are one fourth part of *Italy*: so is it also determined that they & their Spurres, are three fourth parts of *Tuscany*.

It is in length, if you measure along the Sea-coast, two thousand five hundred furlonges, which make three hundred and twelue myles: but if you measure by the *Diameter*, according to *Ptolomey*, assigning it three Degrees, and forty seauen miles to a Degree, then it is some hundred fortie and odde miles: if according as the ordinarie Roade lies, which is neither somuch about as by the coast, nor so direct as by the *Diameter*, it is one hundred and seauenty miles. And thus doth *Leonardus Alberti* the latest and exactest Surveyour of *Italy*, reconcile the authorities of *Strabo*, *Pliny* and *Ptolomey*. But allowing sixtie miles to a Degree, it is in length one hundred and ninte miles, which is now the receaued opinion.

The length.

It is in breadth, one hundred where least, and in Circuite fixe hundred

The breadth.

hundred and twenty, or as *faccio uheri* saith, seauen hundred.

*Il giro suo per quel che si ragiona,*

*E misurati settecento miglia,*

*E Roma qui, l'honor che l'incorona.*

The li-  
mits.

It is limited, West, with the River *Magra*, and Mountaines of *Lyguria*, East, with *Tyber*: North, with the Mountaines *Appennines*: and South, with the Sea.

The con-  
fines.

It confineth South with the *Terra di Roma* South-east with the Duchy of *Spoleto*. East with the State of *Vrbino*. North-east with *Romagna*, North with the state of *Bologna*, North-west with *Lyguria*, West and South-west with the Sea.

The anti-  
quity.

These are the limits set downe by *Polybius*, *Phlyn*, *Pomponius*, *Mela*, *Solinus*, *Plutony*, and all other ancient writers: neither are we to enlarge this country so faire, as they that affirme the *Tuscans* possessed all betwene the *Adriaticke* and *Mediterranean* Seas, from *Nola* in the kingdome of *Naples*, to the Mountaines *Rheri*, which is now the *Grifone* Countrey, and they say are come of the old *Tuscans*. True it is that these *Tuscans* were a mightie and powerfull people, such as oftentimes forced the *Romaines* to create a Dictator (which but in great extremities they might not do) to defend themselves from them: vntill the foure hundred and seauenth year after the foundation of *Rome*, when they were vtterly ouerthrowne at the Lake of *Uadimane*, as *Livy* in his ninth booke affirmeth. Nor did the *Romaines* bring home onely glory, triumph and spoiles, from the conquered *Tuscans*: which argued the greatnesse of this nation: but they broughe with them also (which argueth their antiquity) the habite of their youth, called *Prætexta*, the roabe of their elder age called *Toga*, the twelue Bundles of Roddes and Axes carried before the Consuls, called *fusces*: the seate of their Prieters and other Iudges carried vpon wheelles, called *Sedæ curulis* the Robe of the chiefe Magistrate, triumphall ornaments, and many other such ensignes of auncient greatnesse and Maiestie; all which were brought thence to *Rome* by *Tarquinius Priscus*: whereof *Syllius Italicus* in his 8. booke reporteth, confirmed by *Dionysius Alicarnossens*. From this Nation likewise whom the Greekes called *Tirrhens* or *Tirfai* their poore kinde

kinde of Cottage, and the *Romaines* first called *Hetrusci* of their religious worshipping the Gods, did the *Romaines* also bring many of those rites and ceremonies which they afterward vsed in their religion.

As *Dalpbaz* is called by *Ptolomey* *Umbelicus Mundi*, the Navel of the world, so may we say of *Tuscany*, that it is *Umbelicus Italiae*: howbeit in a Geometricall proportion, that is, in the midst of the forces of *Italy*: having on th'one side the *State Ecclesiastike*, the kingdome of *Naples*, and Dutchy of *Urbine*: and on the other counter-peasable to these, the States of *Venice*, *Mylan*, and *Genoa*, the Dukedomes of *Ferrara*, *Modona*, and *Parma*, and this State in the midst of the ballance, on which side soeuer it inclineth, ouerweighing the other.

The Scite,

This is that which *Guiccardine* saith in the very entrance of his Historie, that the wisdom of *Lorenzo Medici*, and the situation of the State of *Florence*, *Mantennero le cose d'Italia bilanciate*, vpheld ch'affaires of *Italy* in equall Ballance. On which ground also *Lodovico Zforza* Duke of *Milan* layeth his foundation, for the reason he vseth in the third booke of the said historie: who very iealous of the *Venetians* greatnesse, having now vndertaken the protection of *Pisa*, and fearfull withall of the *Frenches* returne into *Italy*: he laboureth the Pope and King of *Aragon*, to enter into a confederation with the *Florentines*, and to re-inuest them of *Pisa*, inferring, that by this meanes the French forces might be diuerted, which otherwise with the helpe of this State (being seated in the midst of *Italy*) might effect matters of prejudiciall consequent to all three: so slyly stands it either to dispeople the enimies forces, or to re-inforce their owne. And therefore *Guiccardine* very iudicially determineth, that it was a powerfull estate, rather per l'opportunità del sito, che per la grandezza del Dominio, by the fitnessse of the situation, then by the greatnesse of the Dominion.

But if we define the midst of *Italy* in an Arithmetical proportion, that is, the center equally distant from both extreame, it will appeare to be true which *Pliny* and *Varro* report, confirmed also by *Leander Albert*, concerning *Lago di pie del Inco*, which *Tacitus* in his first booke calleth *Lacus Felsinus*, in *Sabina*

which they hold to be the middest of *Italy*.

The Ri-  
uers.

Concerning the Rivers of worth there be few, of name ma-  
ny: for the *Italian* hath a name for every ditch; whereof if we  
allow them not *Tiber*, *Arno* is their chiefe: This River was fo-  
named by *Hercule Lybicus* whose surnames were *Libanus*, that  
is, the Lyon of *Lybia*: and *Arusarnus* that is, the learned and va-  
liant for *Ar* in the *Arabian* tongue signifies a Lyon. He was  
the sonne of *Ossiris* and *Iris*, called *Jupiter* and *Iano* by the  
Greekes, and grand-child of *Ianus* called by the Greekes *Ogy-  
ger*, and by the Chaldeans and Hebrews *Noah*: wherupon  
stand the Cities of *Florence* and *Pisa*, *Serchio* which runneth  
by *Lucca*: *Ombrone* by *Pistia*, *Bisenzio* by *Prato*, *Chiana* which  
passeth by the vale of *Arezzo*, and falleth into the *Arno*:  
*Magnum* which runneth neere *Civita vecchia* into the Sea, *Fi-  
ore* which divideth the great Dukes state and the Popes to-  
wards the *Tuscan* Sea, & *Apia* which divideth those two states  
towards the *Appennine*, over which we passe by a bridge built  
by *Gregory* the 13. in our journey from *Florence* to *Rome*: be-  
tween *Radicofani* and *Aquapendente*: that, belonging to the  
great Duke: this, to the Pope. True it is, that *Guicciardini* in  
the 4. booke of his History; and namely in that part of the  
booke which by order of th' inquisition is left out of all allow-  
ed copies; (because in this place, though himselfe were the  
Popes creature, and had great charge vnder him,) yet he fully,  
learnedly, and truly sheweth how by little and little, and by  
bad meanes the Church grew to her greatnesse, how she came  
not onely to quit her obedience to the empire, but to haue also  
a power and stroke in the election of the Emperour himselfe,  
not onely to make the Pope gouernour of *Rome*, but to in-  
croach also vpon the Territories and Cities of *Romagna*, the  
Marquisate of *Aurina*, the Dutchie of *Spoleto* and *Beneuen-  
tum* the superiority over the kingdome of *Naples*: and the pos-  
session of that part of *Tuscany*. (now called the Patrimony of  
*S. Peter*) he I say divideth the Popes state in this Country from  
the rest of *Tuscany*, thus. *E terminata dal torrente di Pefia & dal  
Castello di San Laurico nel Comado di Siena da una banda: & dal*

*dal' altra dal Mare di sotto, & del fiume di Tevere*: that is: it is limited, on the one side with the River *Pescaia*, and the Castell Saint *Laurick* in the territories of *Siena*, and on the other, with the River *Tyber*, and the *Tyberine* Sea. But I rather tie my selfe to the former limits, for that the *Paglia* is farre beyond Saint *Laurick*, whether the great Dukes state now reacheth. There is also *Cecina* which riseth a little about the Citie of *Alafra*, and so passing along the Countrey of *Volterra* falleth into the Sea, with many such other, which in England we rather call Brookes or Riverets; for of all these there are few fit either for burthen or Boate in Summer, except the *Arno*, yet heere often times scarce water for a Mill, as by their denises at *Florince* to perenne it vp appeareth. The reason is that the waters of this State are so small, be two: the former is, the violence of their downefall from the hilles, the better is because their heads are so neare to the Sea as they cannot haue space to be enlarged by the receipt of other lesser Brookes; by which meanes onely all Rivers grow great, as namely the *Rhine* and *Danube*; whereof this last hath from his head, which is in the Forrest *Nepa* to the *Mare Maggiore*, where he payeth his tribute about two thousand miles, and receaueth into his bed by the way three score navigable Rivers.

The Lakes in this State, are neither many nor great, nothing so faire or fruitfull as those of *Lombardy* namely *Lago di Garda*, *Lago d'Isi*, *Lago di Como*, and *Lago Maggiore*: the chiefe in *Tuscany* are these, *Lago di Trasimene* under the Pope, who letteth it out to diuers Farmers for ten thousand Duckets the yeare, which haue the fishing, whereof it is very fruitfull and yeeldeth them also no little game. The profit which the Duke of *Ferrara* raised by the Lake of *Comacina*, who they say in *Venice* made thereof yearly foure-score thousand Duckets, makes this more probable. But this Lake of *Trasimene* now called *Lago di Perugia* is much more renowned for the notable overthrow giuen there by *Hannibal* to the *Romans*, neare whereunto is that faire plaine called *Ostia* of the bodies of the dead there flaine by the rashnesse of *C. Flaminius* the Consul,

The Lakes

as *Pelitus* in his third booke, *Livy* in his two and twentieth, and *Plutarch* in the life of *Hanniball* anowe. The other memorable blow given them (if it be not here impertinent to remember) was that at *Cannæ* in *Puglia*, called by *Livy* in his twentieth and one booke *Cannusium*, where was slain *P. Emilius*, the Consul *L. Atrilius*, and *L. Furius Bibaculus* the *Questors*, one and twentieth *Tribunes* of *Souldiers*, fourescore *Senators*, fortie thousand foote, two thousand and seauen hundred horse; all *Romanes*; and as many *Ammiliaries*; as *Plutarch* in the liues of *Hanniball* and *Scipio*, and *Solinus Italicus* in his ninth booke confesse: There are diuers *Lakes* betweene *Pisa* and *Liuorno*; but small and of no name: There are more not farre from the *Cittie* *Calle*, *Lago di Bolfena*, called by ancient writers *Lacus Fusiensis*; *Lago di Bassanello* anciently called *Lacus Vadimonius*, where the *Romaines* vtterly subdued the *Tuscanes*; *Lago di Bracciano*, called formerly *Lacus Sabbatinus*; *Lago di Vico*, called by *Virgill* in his seauenth *Aeneid*, and *Solinus Italicus* in his eight booke *Lacus Cimius*, of the Mountaine so called, standing betweene this Lake and the *Cittie* of *Viterbo*; *Lago di Monte Rosa*, not large but deepe neere *Rome*, with few others.

The  
plaines.

The *Plaines* are also few, (for they before are allowed but one fourth part) the chiefe are these: That of *Florence* where-in liue about two hundred thousand persons: that neere *Arezzo* called *Vall d'Arno*, because the *Riuer* passeth by it the most fruitfull; that of *Pisa* the most lowe and therefore subiect to the over-flowing of *Arno*, whereof it hath tasted this present *Winter* to the *Countries* great losse: That of *Lucca* enuironed with *Hilles*, and the *Cittie* in the middest like a center in a circle: That of *Carfigniana* vnder the *Dukedome* of *Ferrara*. And lastly the *Plaines* of *Marignana* in the *State* of *Siena*; the most large, and whither for the *Wintering* of their *Cattie* they are sent in *October* from the *Mountaines*. It hath the name of *Mare* the *Sea*; and therefore we may well English it the *Marshes* of *Siena*, it runneth along the *Sea*-coast almost seauentie miles in length, betweene the two *Riuers* *Corina* and

*Pesna*,

*Pisna*, not much inhabited with people through the badnesse of the ayre.

The *Portes* are, *Giulia Vecchia* in the Popes State, for *Ottia* is on the other side of *Tyber*, *Orbitello*, *Porto-ercole*, *Talamone*, *Castiglione* in the *Maritima*, howbeit vnder the King of Spaine, as is also the *Monte d'Argentara* and the Port of *Piombino*. The onely *Porte* of worthe vnder the great Dukes State, is that of *Liorno*, capable of any *Fleete* whatsoever.

The ports.

It is rather to be called a *Road* then a *Harborough*, and to be observed that this *Sea* neither ebbeth nor floweth. Here his Highnesse daily buildeth, meaning to make it a *Cittie*, the walles and fortifications being almost finished. It is in forme fixe square, its circuite a mile three quarters, the length of the *Custaine* is two hundred and sixteene paces, the face of the *Bulwarke*, is one hundred thirtie and eight. From the *Spur* which is fiftene paces thick, to the *Flanker* which is so many broad, are eightene paces. The *Diameter* of the *Piazza* is foure hundred and fiftie. This proportion no doubt swarueeth from the strict rules of fortification, neither can I warrant the relation true by the line; I was forced to passe it in hast, and *tanquam aliud agens*, to auoide all ielousie; whereof I thought fit to aduertise the curious Reader, and to prevent the enuious detracter. Here is bestowed great cost, being indeed the onely *Keye* by which all commodities are transported and brought in, not onely for the vse of *Tuscany*, but even for the most places of *Italy*, so that it bringeth in a very great entree to the great Dukes coffers, as I must more particularly and more fully aduertise hereafter.

Liorno or Ligorno.

Princes interrelled in Tuscany.

The *Princes* and *States* interested in *Tuscany* are these. The *Pope*, who possesseth all, from *Tyber* to *Fiere*, and so right vp from the *Sea* to the ridge of the *Apennines*, which is some fourth part of the whole. The *Spanish King* hath the coast of *Maritima*, and the *Portes* thereof, as is abovesaid, wherein he keepeth garrison, besides *Pontremoli*, and one other *Fort* or two on the side of *Liguria*. The *Dukedome* of *Ferrara* hath the valley of *Carpi*, *Signina*, *Severano*. The *State* of *Lozza* hath



had all her possessions heretofore. The Dukcs of *Urbino*, *Modena*, and *Brescia* have also each of them a Pece (howbeit most of this is in the church part which is called the Patrimony of Saint Peter.) There is also the *Sigmar di Pombino*, the *Marquess of Massa*, and other inferiour Princes interested in this Country at an other fourth part. So that there remaineth a Moire vnder the great Dukcs government, whereof I have vndertaken to giue this superficiall survey which followeth.

The great  
Dukes  
State.

Castels.

This State, besides that it is enclosed with the Mountaines as with a wall on three sides, and with the Sea on the fourth, and so consequently by scituation passing strong: it hath also many Castles and Fortresses, as *Radofany*, *Monte-falco*, *Polegrino*, *Chierole*, *Santabastiana*, *Dufignano*, *Montefiascone*, *Empoli*, *Grosseto*, *Sassa*, and diuers others, to the number of thirty, wherein is garrison more or lesse: But of others which stand rather to shew the manner of fortifications in elder ages, and the force of time by which they are ruined, then for any vse of the time present, there are about three hundred: By which number may very probably be coniectured their many and diuers States in this small circuite in former times: for as it appeareth by Historie, not onely *Florence*, *Sienna* and *Pisa* (which of late yeares were reduced into one gouernment) but also *Pistoia*, *Arezzo*, *Viterro*, and almost all the Cities now vnder the great Duke, had euery one their seuerall and distinct State. Wherevpon it was necessary, each State should haue her Castles and Fortes to affront those that confined vpon them. As for those former wherein is garrison, the most of them in the iudgment of men experienced, haue their defect either in their forme and manner of fortification which is *All Antica*, or in their *Pieces* which are very little, and so thought vncapable of sufficient number to defend them. But besides these he hath in each citie a Cittadell, and therein a garrison, which are all very moderate and strong: the vse of which Peeces are not so much for defence of the Townes where they be, as to keepe in awfull termes the citiees themselves, as by the cittadell at *Florence* and *Fortesse* of *Sienna* appeareth.



Of Cities there be sixteene, the one halfe in the State of *Flou* *Cities*  
*rence*, the other in that of *Siena*: of the former State these be  
 the names: *Florence* whereof is an Archbishopsrick, his name  
 distant is *Monaster Medice*: *Pisa* an Archbishopsrick also,  
 his name *Carlo* *dominus Patens*: *Pistoia*, *Arezzo*, *Volterra*,  
*Cortona*, *Barga* for Sepulchers, and *Monte Pulciano*. Of the other  
 State are these: *Siena* an Archbishopsrick, his name *Alfonso*  
*Piccolomini*, *Montalcino*, *Grosseto*, *Chiusi*, *Siena*, *Pienza*, *Ades*  
*sa* and *Cello* christened a citie five yeases since. Many of these  
 I saw not, and therefore presume not to speake of at large: in  
 the foure chiefest, *Florence*, *Pisa*, *Siena* and *Pistoia*. I spent some  
 time, and hold them worthy of some little remembrance in  
 this discourse, before I come to speake of the generall parts of  
 this State.

*Florence* is seated at the head of a very faire valley, and en- *Florence*  
 circled with high Mountaines, especially towards *Bologna*, it  
 hath the streetes very long straight large, and faire paved with  
 a broad stone which they call *Lustra*, so as no weather makes  
 them foule: it is beautified with many stately Pallaces, which  
 have more del *Rogate* then del *Cittadinesco*, as that of the *Signo-*  
*ria*, that of the *Pitti*, where is, always the great Dukes court:  
 that of the *Ardie*, that of the *Strozzi* and many others: it is  
 graced with many large *Plazas*, and in them many *Statues*,  
 some of *Brasse*, as that of *Colme*, the first great Duke, and others  
 very many and very curious, some of *Marble*, some of *Alaba-*  
*ster*: it is divided with the *River Arno*, and vpon this foure  
 faire Bridges of Stone to passe from one part of the citie to  
 the other. It is adorned with many faire Monasteries and  
 churches, but above all with the most magnificent and admi-  
 rable Fabrick of the *Duomo*, the workmanship of that excellent  
 Architeck *Brunelleschi* dedicated to *Santa Maria del fiore*, and  
 is (they say) the true Modle of the church of *Santa Sofia* in  
*Constantinople*. The body of this church from the West to the  
*Capule* is one hundred paces, the bredth fortie sixe: the *Ca-*  
*pule* is in ciren in three hundred paces with a gulte Ball of  
*Brasse* on the toppe, wherein twenty men may stand ypright.

All the outside and pavement are of Marble, and the *Campasile* (a steeple) without, wherein the finesse of the stufie & the rarenesse of the worke are both so excellent, as *Charles of Austria* said it was pittie, it had not a Mante to keepe it from foule weather, Not farre from the West Portaille of the *Ducado*, is the ancient Temple of *Mari*, round in forme, and now dedicated to *S. Iohn Baptist*: where, besides the excellencie of the stufie & workmanship, is a very rich Font, and a double leaved Gate of fine metall, and finer worke, whereof is not the like in *Europe*, hereof writes *Uberti*:

*To uiddi molti luoghi rinfu e cari,*

*Mà sopra tutti mi piacque il Battista,*

*Che d' intaglio di marmo non fo il pari.*

These and other such ornaments haue worthily got this Cittie the name of *Firenze la bella*: which the said Prince of *Austria* well confirmed, who vpon exact view taken of all the graces and beauties of this Towne, said, *eh ella era una città che non si douena mostrare, se non ne giorni solenni*: that this was a Cittie not to be shewen but vpon holy daies. The beauty of this Towne was the *Medius Terminus*, vpon which the vaine glorious *Florentine* grounded the reason of his induction, who argued thus: My house is the fairest Pallace in all the *Strada larga*: this the fairest streete in *Firenze*: this, the fairest Cittie in *Italy*: this, the fairest countrey of *Europe*: *Ergo*, my house is the fairest Pallace of *Europe*. Much like this argument of *Themistocles*: My little Boy ouer-rules my mother, she gouernes me; I command all *Greece*: *Ergo* my little Boy commands all *Greece*.

The walles of this Towne are of rough stone, two & thirty foote high, not thick, but with a reasonable Rampart, herein one hundred and fiftie Towers built, all *Amica*, and in circuite five miles: there are neither Ditches of vse, nor Suburbs at all: there were of these Suburbs vntill the yeare 1428. and they almost as big as the whole Cittie, as *Leander Alberti* testifieth: at what time they were vtterly ruined, and now no memorie of them remaining. This carrieth the greater credit, for that *Boccaccio* in the beginning of his *Decamerin*, describing the great plague

plague of *Florence*, saith, there dyed in one yeare about one hundred thousand persons: more then are now in all the Cittie, the Suburbes being gone.

Vpon the North-west of this Wall is a Cittadell begun in the tyme of *Alexander Medici* first Duke, by the motion of *Clement* the 7. as in the last booke of *Giovanni* appeareth. The end of building this Porce, was to bridle the Towne, for which use it is still manned with a strong garrison, and provided of Powder, shott, munition, victuall, and all things necessarie. Right against this on the South-east of the Cittie is the Fortresse of *San Miniato*, and on the South the new Fort, which standeth on the hill right oiter the Great Dukes house, both to defend the same, as also to retire into, if neede were, with all his treasure, and lastly to command the Towne; for which three uses it is serveth.

It may here be observed of *Florence*, as also of most of the Cities of this state, that few, or none of them can be said to be strong, except either in respect of their Situation among Hills, as *Siena* and *Volterra*: or by reason of those Cittadels, by which they may recover the townes being lost, as we say of *Brescia* and *Bergamo* in the state of *Venice*: True it is, that in *Venetian* dominion yee have other strong townes in other respects; some by good fortification, good wallen, thick Ramparts, deepe and large ditches, capable and defensible Bulwarks, and in a moist soile, as *Trenis* and *Lignago*; others are therfore strong, because besides these fortifications, they are so great in circuite, as they cannot be besieged but by a mighty Armie, as *Padua* and *Verona*: and others by reason of their situation vpon the Sea as *Corfu*, whether the *Venetians* being Lords of that Sea, may alwaies send succours vpon occasion. But concerning the Cities of *Florence*, none of them can be said to be strong in any of the three last respects.

There are forty foure Parish Churches, twelue Priories, sequente six Monasteries of men and women, and thirtie seaven Hospitals. There be religious people of all sorts 24000. so many of others as make the whole number 90000. In the Cloisters

of the Church of *San Lorenzo* is a very faire and beautifull Librarie built and furnished with Bookes by the familie of *Medici*: the rooffe is of Cedar very curiously wrought with knots and flowers, and right vnder each knot is the same wrought with no lesse Art in the pavement. In this Library I told three thousand nine hundred bookes very fairely bound in Leather, after one sort, all bound to their seates, which were in number sixtie eight: and, which is the greatest grace and cost also, very many of the bookes were written with the Authors owne hands. There is also at the farther end of this Librarie one other of prohibited bookes, which I could not see.

The great Seale of *Florence* is the *Lion and Hercules*: their Armes were in former times a *Flower de Life* argent in a field gules, but vpon the banishment of the *Ghibelline* faction, they are altered to the contrary; the Field to the colour of the flower, and the flower to the colour of the field. Within these hundred yeares haue bene of this Citee three Popes, *John* and *Basil* *Medici*, *Leo* the tenth, and *Clement* the seauenth, and *Hippolytus Aldebrandini* called *Clement* the eight that yet liueth. Here haue also flourished many famous men in matter of learning, as *Fraunceſco Guicciardini* for a iudiciall Historiographer; *Nicolas Machiavelli* for a worldly Politician; *Michel Angelo* for an excellent Painter; *Petrarche* and *Dante* for singular Poets; and *Boccaccio* for his pleasant garbe and refining their language, and many others.

Having gazed your fill vpon the beauties of this Towne, if for varieties sake, and your better recreation, you will walke abroad into the *Villa per passo*, as the *Italian* saith; you shall haue there in view, so many, and such goodly Pallaces, for the space of six or seauen miles compasse, as (they say) would make one other *Florence*. But aboue all, the great Duket Pallace of *Pratolino*, built by his brother *Fraunceſco*, is the most admirable, not for the Pallace it selfe, or manner of the building; for there are many can match it, if not excell it. But for the exquisite and rare inuention of Water-workes, wherein it is excellent, and thought to exceede *Tinoli* by *Rome*, so much in this kinde commended.

mended. The house it selfe is built in forme of a *Temple*. The head of the letter which is the front of the house, being in length seauenty paces, & the other part fifty foure: the roomes for offices of Court and lodgings are seauenty, whereof these are all of one bignesse, forme, and furniture: with three goodly Halls richly furnished, running along the middest of the Palace, from the one end to the other, and the one opening into the other, so as according to the winde or sunne, he may giue his intertainment for the best ease of them he feasteth: It is seated betwene two high Hilles, vpon a third lower then they, from which hilles yee descend some quarter of a mile, by a way set with quick-set, & kept after our English fashion: yee mount vp to the *Terrace* of the Front by twelue staires, very faire of Stone, directly wherevpon, at the head of a Garden set round with Statues of the Muses in a ground sensibly ascending, is seene a huge Giant cut out of the maine Rock, with all his parts, as armes, hands, legges, and feete, symmetricall to his head, wherein may stand a dozen men: In it are kept Pigeons; the loouers whereat they come in and out, are his eares; the windows which giue light to the roome, are his eyes. Out of his mouth falleth into a very fine poole, all the water that serues the worke on the other side the Palace, among which are many sights yeelding very great content, as *Noes Arke* with all kinds of beasts, *Hercules* fighting with a Dragon, Birds artificially fingring Organs musically playing, showers of Raine plentifully downe powring, and infinite sort of such deuise, more delighsome to be seene then pleasant to be discoursed of. To conclude, the deuise so good, the workmanship so rare, and the charge so great, as it is said constantly that it cost Duke *Francesco* three hundred thousand Crownes.

The great Duke hath another Palace, two miles from *Florence*, called *Castello*, onely for pleasure, but not so beautified nor full of water-workes as this of *Pratolino*: an other distant 10. miles off, called *Il Poggio Imperiale*, more profitable then they both, in forme quadrangular, fifty six paces square, Where besides the pleasure it yeelds of hunting, it yeeldeth also sum-

mering and Haye for his Horses, and keepeth the great Duches a dairie of three hundred Kine: a commodity worth the remembring in this state, where in three-score miles are not scene three-score head of Cattle; nor so much good pasture ground (that I saw) in the whole countrey.

I am now before I proceede to the other chiefe Citties, to remember in a word, how and when the *Florentines* came inpatronized of diuers other states of *Tuscany*, and what forme of gouernment they had in former times, vntill *Leo* and *Clement*, for I must there needs begin, when I shall come to speake of the great Dukes title.

This Citie of *Florence*, after many conflicts with the olde City of *Fesula*, (whereof now almost remaineth no memory, but the hilles whereon it stood) getting the vpper hand, and many of that olde towne following the fortune of the winner, comming hither to dwell, it grew to beare the name of a great and rich Cittie: which till then (euer since the time of *Sylla*, by whom they say it was first founded and made a Collony of the *Remaines*) bare rather the name of a Bourough, then otherwise. And after a combination of these two Citties into one Comminalty, they quartered the Armes of *Fesula*, which were a Moone Azure in a field Argent, with those of *Florence*, being a *Flower de Life* Argent in a field Gules. It was afterward subiect to diuers sackings and subuersions by the *Gothes*, *Gaulles*, and *Lombards*, partaking with other Citties of *Italy* in those miseries which these Nations inflicted. Insomuch as there was nothing remaining of their auncient glory, but ruines and desolation, & what the barbarous crueltie of such an enemy could not tyrannise vpon. In these tearmes *Charles* the great found it, who caused it to be reedified, appointing for the gouernment thereof two Consuls, and a Senate of an hundred. After this, they altered the gouernment, conferring it vpon ten called *Antient* Aldermen, (as I take it) in the yeare 1254. Shortly after in the yeare 1287. they wanne the City of *Pistoia*, and about the same time they purchased their liberty of the Emperour *Rodolphe* for three-score thousand Duckets: And againe changed their forme of gouernment,

ment, to eight *Priori*, and a *Gonsalmer* of Justice, who was to hold his place for 2. moneths only. Presently after they bought a *Brecco* of *Mastino della sala*, for forty thousand Duckets. And in the year 1471. they won by force *Valterra*, one of the 12. first Cities of *Tuscany* and honoured with the birth of the Poet *Persius*. They got also *Pisa* & the whole State thereof, of whose revolt, and recovery, what parts taking there was, & what time was spent, and how many Millions it cost them to be repollesed thereof, *Guicciardine* very fully discourseth, and were here too tedious to be particularly related. The gouernment of a *Gonsalmer* was altered by *Guatters* *Francoise* Duke of *Athens*, who at the Cities request requiring aide, was sent thither by *Robert* king of *Sicilie*, and at his first coming deposed the *Gonsalmer* and *Priory*, & vsurped himselfe; but he was quickly expelled, and the former officer reinstated: till the time of Pope *Alexander* the sixth, whose sonne *Cesar Borgia* duke *Valentinian* fought to bring in the three banished *Medici*, *Piero*, *Giovanni*, and *Gualiano*, whereupon the *Florentines* made *Piero Soderini* their *Gonsalmer* perpetuall, as *Buimacorsi* an approued *Italian* writer, & *Guicciardine* in his fift booke doth testifie. These alterations haue been since the restauration of the city by *Charles*, (which notwithstanding) *Guicciardine* lib. 1. cap. 17. saith, was opinione inueterata benché falsa, che Carlo l' hauesse reedificata, an old but false coniecture, that *Charles* did reedifie it: besides those also which it suffered afterwards, which shall more fitly be remembered hereafter.

From *Florence* I must passe to the Cittie *Pistoia*, seated at the other end of this valley, 20. miles off. But the Castle of *Prato* being in the way, and commanding the passage, I dare not but salute it; the rather for that I spent foure moneths in that Towne.

There are in *Italy* among I know not how many thousands, *Prato*. foure principall Castles aboue the rest reputed, as *Leonard Alberti* in his view of *Italy* discourseth: *Barletta* in *Puglia* in the kingdome of *Naples*, *Fabriana* in *Marcia Anconitana*, vnder the state of the Church; *Crema* in *Lombardia*, vnder the *Venetians*, and

and *Prato* in *Tuscania* vnder the great Duke. It is heere to be observed, that these are called Castles, not that they be onely Fortresses and places of strength, but that they be large towncs fortified with wall and Bulwarke, and haue their Territories; they onely want Bishops Sees, wherein they differ from Cities. It standeth in the midst of this Valley vpon the river *Bisenzio*; it is in forme sex-angular, at each corner a Bulwarke *alla Moderna* very defensible; the walles in circuite two miles, with an olde peece at the East built (they say) by *Frederico Barbarossa*. The *Comado* (the Territory) of this Towne is in length eight miles, in breadth foure, in circuite foure and twentie, within which compasse (with those within the Towne) are fiftie nine Churches, eight and thirtie Monasteries, and other religious houses, and of all sorts of people sixteene thousand, whereof two thousand are religious. Here is (they say) the Girdle of our Lady brought thither by a Marchant from the Indies, whether it was first carried by *S. Thomas* the Apostle, a Relicke which they hold in high esteeme, keepe with very great care, come to see with great deuotion, and is shewed to the people with great reuerence once in a yeare; that is, on our Ladies day in September, in the time of their Faise; and when is most concourse of strangers. There came that day in deuotion (to see me, not the Girdle) two English Gentlemen my friends; we obserued (if it be not impertinent here to remember) that there were in view vpon the Market place of people at the shewing of this Relicke, about eightene or twenty thousand, whereof we iudged one halfe to haue Hattes of Strawe, and one fourth part to be bare legged; that we know all is not gold in *Italy*: though many Trauellers gazing onely on the beaunie of their Cities, and the painted surface of their houses, thinke it the onely Paradise of *Europe*. But if they would with me,

*— ferdida rura*

*Atq; humiles intrare casas & visere gentem:*

they would surely graunt, that pouertie and famine had not a greater kingdome in those countries, where *Craesus* starued his *Annie*, then they haue heere. But no maruaile though *Prato* be poore.



poore being so vnlustly and cruelly sacked in the yeare 1552. by the Spaniards vnder the conduct of *Reynaldo Cardona*, for want of pay which the *Florentines* ought him and his Souldiers; who most vilely gaue the sacking of this pretty (and then rich) towne, to the barbarous insolencie of the proud Spaniard, and came themselues with bagges of Crownes to purchase the lands of the poore harmlesse *Pratesi*, wherewith they were forced to redeeme their liberty, after the ransoming of their wives, killing of their children, robbing their shops and houses, and other such insolent out-rages; whereof *Guicciardini lib. 11.* complaineth, that from their auarice, lust and cruelty, nothing was safe. And *Bunarusi* saith, that they spared neither virgin, infant, nor church, & *Paulus Iunior* affirmeth, that the Spanish cruelty in this sack of *Prato*, did farre exceed that of the Dutch and French, at the sack of *Brescia* so much detested. Hence is it that at this day the name of Spaniard is there most odious, for among all other names of infamy and reproach, when they haue called one *Petrone*, *Parfauto*, *Adanigolds*, *Traditore*, and all that naught is, they end alwayes in this *Spagnuolo* intending (it should seeme) that there is not a worse name vnder the sunne.

But leauing them expostulating this iniurie of the *Florentines*, and bewailing their owne maleries, I will proceed to the Citie of *Pistoia*.

It is seated at the West end of the Valley, in circuite two Pistoia miles and a halfe, the walles old and weake, built by *Desiderius* king of the *Lombards*. Howbeit the Bulwarkes are very moderne and strong, with a Cittadell built by Duke *Francesco*, and manned with a sufficient garrison to keepe the towne in awe. This Towne is called of *Cato* and *Pliny*, *Pistorium*; and of *Priscus*, *Pistoria quasi Pistoria* (saith one) of the pestilence that there rained among the souldiers, which remained of *Cassius* Campe after he was ouerthrowne, who (they say) was the first builder thereof. Others will haue it called of *uictoria* and *spis*, that is the faithfull Territorie. Others because it is the doore of the Mountainer which the word also signifieth; for from hence is away so passe through the *Monte* into *Prato*; by which

the French forces passed into *Tuscany*, and so to *Naples*, in the time of *Charles* the eight, as by the historie appeareth. All which are either false coniectures and carry no correspondencie of truth with history, or at least are idle suppositions, and carry with them no matter of import. For what reason is there that the *Grecians* should giue names to townes in *Tuscany*, who neuer came ouer the River *Tenar*? or that they should christen this and no other? or that a *Romaine* should be the Father, and a *Greeke* the Godfather: but were it so, it little importeth, and therefore I haue purposely auoided these fruitlesse etimologies: else could I haue said before, that *Florence* was called either (*Fluentia*) because it stands betwene the two waters *Arno* and *Arna*; or (*Fiorentia*) of *Fior* a flower, because it is the flower and beauty of *Italy*; or (*Firenze*) which *Giambattista* one of their writers deriues from a *Caldey* word, and signifies (he saith) a valiant Souldier; as who would say the *Florentines* were such: which I haue not yet read, and I am sure they of *Siena* will not confesse: who will not let to bragge how often they haue beaten them in the field. Indeepe I well remember, that writers giue them th'attribute of (*Ingenious and wise*) as namly *Macchiavelly* in his *Florentine* history, and *Guicciardine* in the very beginning of his booke Cart. 2. Howbeit I could easily condescend to the opinion of *Imbalt* a French commander, who vpon good experience *Guicciardine* lib. 3. cart. 144. *Non sapina donec consistesse, lingua tantu celebrata de Fiorentini* could not finde, where that great witte of theirs laye. So likewise these word-founders will haue their Cittie *Arret* to be so old as that it was built when for want of a fit name they were faine to call it (*Earth*) for so in the Hebrew tongue it signifieth. But seeing that *Tully* and *Varro* call it (*Arretium*) and not (*Arretianum*) me thinkes they might better deriue it from *Aras* (which the word well beareth) for I am well assured, that historie makes the *Arretines* and their neighbours the *Perugians*, farre better Souldiers then the *Florentines*.

But I will not over-charge this short discourse with deuinations, I had rather leaue them with the capriccious Antiquaries

of *Tuscany*, and returning to *Pistoia*, say: that though it be very little, it is very rich, as having a *Contado* full of oyle and wine: inasmuch as it is said, they presse yearly one hundred thousand Barrells of Wine, whereof they send the one halfe to *Florence*, of which the great Duke hath (*gabell*) a custome one *Gnillio*, (five pence sterling) for every Barrell, at the entery into every *Cima* gate, besides the tenth leuied vpon it before, and an imposition after vpon every *taner*, as shall more fully in the discourse of his entrate be aduertised.

This Towne is famous, or rather infamous, for the two factions of the *Bianchi* and *Nery*, which ruined themselves, and troubled the peace of *Florence* also: it began thus. Two young Gentlemen of the towne falling out, and so proceeding from words to blowes, it chanced one of them received a light hurt, The father of the other (because he would kill all motions to a farther quarrell) sends his Sonne to aske pardon of the Father and Parentage of the other whom he had hurt: but he causing his seruants to lay hold on him, commaunded his right hand to be cut off, and sent him away with this answer, *Va dal tuo Padre & digli, che le ferite non si curano con parole ma col ferro*; Go to thy father and tell him, hurts are not cured with words, but with the sword. Herevpon grew that great and bloody enmitie betweene those two houses, which drew into it all the great families of *Pistoia*, as also them of *Florence*, where the *Donati* banded with the *Neri*, and the *Circhi* with the *Bianchi*. Since which faction, there hath also another risen no lesse dangerous then the former, betweene the *Cancellieri* and the *Pancadici*, scarce yet so composed, but that vpon every small occasion it is ready to breake out.

This Towne pretendeth to be much priuiledged aboue all other Cities vnder the great Duke, for at the time when they yielded to the State of *Florence*, it was among other Capitulations concluded; that in any *Bando* (Proclamation) whatsoever except the Citty and *Contado* of *Pistoia* were expressly named, it was to be vnderstood exempt & freed from the same, which indeed is still obserued, howbeit a course is taken neuer to leaue

that clause out: so that I see small reason they haue to bragge so much thereof. The people in and without the City are supposed fixtie foure thousand: the Religious are much about the rate of them in *Prato* an eight part.

I cannot passe the direct way from hence to *Pisa*, whether the course of this discourse directs me, vnlesse I passe vnder the walles of *Lucca*: which being no part of this State, I know not how I may speake of; that haue vndertaken to write of nothing else: and yet passing so neare, I know not how to auoide some mention thereof, that am likewise to aduertise of what I haue seene. Wherefore betweene a doubt which is lesse fault, to digresse in my narration, or be diuerted out of my way, I will speake so little, as if it be a fault to digresse, it may be excused, because this little is nothing, & if it be a fault to write so little, it may be answered I durst not digresse.

Lucca.

The City of *Lucca* was anciendly called *Fredia*, and afterwards being the first of the twelve old Cities of *Tuscany* that received the Christian faith, & light of the Gospell, it changed the name of *Lucca*, *a Luce* herewith accordeth *Fucio Vheri*:

*Ma perche alluminata della fede.*

*Fu pria, ch' altra Cittade di Toscana,*

*Cangio il suo nome, e Lucca lo si diede.*

It is seated (as is before said) like a Center in a Circumference, in the midst of a faire and pleasant valley, enuironed with wast and huge Mountaines: The walles in circuite two miles, are of Brick very new, strengthened with a very thick Ratpart, and fortified *alla moderna*, with very many and defensible Bulwarke. Insomuch as it is thought, that when the Bulwarke that is now in the making at the North-west of the towne is finished, with one other at the East which is already purposed, and the *Terra-pieno* (Rampart) of this East side made answerable to the rest, which is also intended, it shall then haue in all, eleven Bulwarke, and will without exception be one of the best fortified townes in *Italy*. They keepe in the towne a garrison continually of three hundred Souldiers, and are able (they say) to drawe into their Citie at two daies warning out of their owne territorie, thirte thousand able mē for seruice; for which nūber

they

they haue provision of armes, victuals, and all things necessary vpon occasion. I was in their Granaries, where I saw as they credibly rated it of Wheate, Rie, Beanes, and Chestnut Meale the quantitie of six hundred thousand Staies, which of our measure maketh about fifty thousand quarters, besides so much more kept in diuers conuents and Monasteries of the towne which they call their *Provisions d'Abondanza* (Store). All which provision is able (in case of a Siege) to maintaine the City for two yeares, at the number of three-score thousand people, allowing twelue Staies a man the yeare; a proportion in those parts, and such cases very large. The reasons of these fortifications, garrisons and provisions which they make, is the zealous feare they haue of the great Duke, of whom all their State which is somewayes fiftie miles in length is euery way enuironed, whose greatnesse is nothing pleasing to the *Lucreti*; neither can they well digest that his title (*di Toscana*) and therefore the *Signoria* of this State, sending letters of congratulation (they say) but it is more probable about some other their affaires to *Cosmo Medici*, presently after his creation of great Duke, they stiled their letters thus. *All' Illmo e Fecissimo principi Cosmo Medici gran Duca (m) Toscana*. To which garbo of theirs the *Italia* rime also alludeth, which saith thus;

*S' il Duca hauesse Lucca e Serrezzana,*

*Sarebbe il gran Duca (di) Toscana.*

Implying that it is no reason he should be intitled great Duke of the whole, hauing no more but the one halfe. But howsoeuer this towne stand *promissa* as it braggeth; and are able to keepe him out of themselves two or three yeares together, more then probable it is, that the feare of the *Spanish King*, to whose protection it is recommended, doth curbe his desire, in attempting the action, watching over this pretty State with an ambitious and couetous eye, *come Lo sparuiere alla quaglia*, as the Hauke over the Quaille, hoping one day for an opportunity.

I am now by order leauing *Lucca* to looke to her selfe; to passe the Monte *Saint Julian*, and arrive at *Pisa*; a Citie in former times very populous as any in *Tuscany*, now so dispeopled

as there are not iudged above foureteeue thousand persons, though in circuite it be little lesse then *Flouence*: the Wallies for the most part are of Bricke, but in some places of square Stone, the Ramparts conuenient, the Bulwaddes not many nor correspondent: the peece of cheefest import is the Caste vpon the South-west of the towne, wherein is a garrison of fiftie, with munition and other necessaries, for the vse as is abovesaid of keeping the City in awe. The scite hereof is in a Plaine vpon the Riuer *Arno*, which passeth through the middest thereof with one bridge onely, and falleth into the Sea some sixe miles belowe: whereby it appeareth that the land hath lately gotten much vpon the Sea on this coast, as we finde in diuers places vpon our coast in England, for that in the time of *Strabo* he reporteth, it was but twenty furlongs off, which is two miles and a halfe distant from the Sea.

Out of this Riuer is cut a Ditch from this Towne to *Liuorno*, fifteene miles long for the more conuenient carriage of such wares as arrive in that Roade, and are thence conueyed by water from *Pisa* yp to *Flouence*; and so by land into other places of *Tuscany*, *Romagna*, *Lombardia*, and *Rome* also. The Boates wherein these wares are carried are but small, in number betweene six and seauen hundred, which our English Marchants *Burlands* (gibing) call the great Dukes fleete. The nature of this plaine is for the most part marish, though in times past it was fit either for pasture or tillage, as by the commoditie thereof reaped for the maintenance of the cittie appeareth by *Quinciard*. But since that the Cittie being conquered by the *Florentines*, and most of the auncient *Pisani* departed, some into *Sicilia*, other into *Sardogna*, *Corfica*, and other places, preferring a voluntary banishment, before a forced subiection: the Towne hath beene so desolate as there haue not beene people sufficient to maintaine this plaine against the fury of *Arno*, whereby it hath beene much wasted, as hath partly beene said.

There are, besides the commodity of the seat, lying betweene *Flouence* and *Liuorno*, three other causes, that this Cittie is frequented, otherwise it would be very desolate. The first is the espe-

especially fauour of the Prince himfelfe, who becaufe he was here borne, beareth an extraordinary affection to the place, as by his often coming and long tarrying appeareth. Another is, for that it is the place where properly the order of *S. Stephen* is resident, where the Knights of this order haue their Pallace, Officers, and other dependances. The last, for that there is a studie as they call it in *Italy* (a Vniuersity) erected by *Cosmo*, and is reasonably frequented.

In this Towne among many other Churches and Monasteries, is that excellent Fabrick of the *Battisterio*, built (they say) in fourteene dayes: It standeth hard at the West-end of the *Duomo*, which for the beauty thereof might haue compared with that of *Siena* so much commended, had it not by mishap bene burned in the yeare 1595. in October; it is now in the repairing at the great Dukes charges: Howbeit in lieu hereof, he hath raised the price of his Salt fittie *Quarini* in the pound, throughout this State for the space of ten yeares: and it is to be thought (by examples too many of like nature in other places) that being once granted, it shall not then be ended. On the North of this Church is the *Campo Santo*, as they call it, their *Golgotha* or place of buriall, the earth whereof was brought in ships from the *Terra Santa*, as their Histories record: & as they affirme, the dead consume there in foure and twenty houres. Not farre from this place is an old ruinous Tower, called by them (*Torre di fumi*) in memory of the mercilesse crueltie of *Ruggiero* the Archbishop, who vpon suspicion of treason immured therein *Cante Hugoline* a Noble *Pisane*, and his foure children, causing them to be starued: of whom *Dante* the Poet in his 33. chapter *dell inferno*, very elegantly discourseth, fauouring that there for a torment due to such a fact, the Count breath vpon the Bishops head with a neuer satisfied greedinesse. Here is also an Arsenall wherein the Duke hath two or three of his Gallies in mending, but no new in the making, neither Artillerie or any thing els worth the remembrance. Heere the great Duke hath a Pallace, but so ill continued, and so unworthy the presence of so great a Prince, as it is said, the desier thereof

looking



looking for great praise at the Dukes hands for his rare plotte, as : finishing after that it disliked his Highnesse, in a melancholic discontent threw himselfe into the *Arno* : he hath also another lesser house lately built, wherein are many small Statues of Marble and Mettall, many Medalles and Pictures, some painted, others of Feathers very exquisitely artificiaall. Besides peeces of Vre vntried both of golde & siluer, Corall vnpolished, whereof yee shall see some growe vpon the Sculles of dead men, with infinite such like, more delightfull to be seene, then needfull to be related of. Vnto this building is adioyning a Garden of Simples, not much inferiour to that of *Padua* : But the thing of best vie and greatest cost, and therefore vnfitteft to be forgotten, is a Conduict of water vpon Arches into the Towne from *Valdecules* five mile off, wherewith the better part of the Citie is serued. Other buildings I remember not, worth the remembring; except the *Campanile*, which Architecture hath this variete, that the top thereof by a line perpendicularly downe falling to the ground, and sheweth that it is prominent or hanging ouer the *Basement* of twelue foote by the square. As for the Citie it selfe, it is the greater halfe void, wherein is nothing but Gardens of hearbes and rootes; the houses that there be, are for the most part so old and ruinous, as that the great Duke hath lately giuen commandement, that euery one according to his abilitie, should either build new, or at the least repaire and trim them on the out-sides for the better grace of the town. So vnlike is *Pisa* to it selfe; which in former times was able to wage battaile at land with the *Florentines*, at Sea with the *Genoese*; yea and with *Venice* also : And before that, to conquer *Sardinia*, to ouercome the King of *Carthage*, and bring him prisoner to *Rome*, to recover *Palermo* in *Sirilia* from the *Saracens*, to assist the *French* with a mighty Naue in their voyage to the holy land, to send forie Ships to the recovery of *Alexandria* for *Almerick* King of *Ierusalem*, to aide th *Emperour Frederick Barbarossa* against the state of *Attilan*; besides many other their famous and victorious conquests; where vpon one looth : *Enu Pisa, ultra in Roma situm Tiberis, sine Ilium, nunc sitas*



To speake of the diuers gouernments of this Towne, and the many alterations it hath suffered, were a discourse, though not altogether needlesse or impertinent, yet so large or rather tedious, as would be altogether disproportionate to my former breuities: I will leaue it therefore altogether vntouched, and go forward my journey to *Siena*.

This Citie chalengeth the title of much Antiquitie, being built by *Sansus* the sonne of *Romus*, *Romulus* his brother, which may seeme to carry some matter of truth, for that the Armes of the Citie is a Wolfe, with two Infants sucking vpon her: which Armes are to be scene in diuers places of the Towne both in Marble and Mettall. It is called by *Pliny*, *Colonia Senensis*, and by *Tacitus* in the 20. booke of his Historie, but whether it was built by *Sansus*, or the *Galli Senones* that went with *Brennus* into *Italy*, I leaue indifferent to the Reader: this last is alleaged out of *Prolomies* Fables, though I rather subscribe to the former. It is seated vpon the tops of diuers small hills, very neerely meeting together, which with their declinings makes the Situation very vneuen, and such as I haue not else where scene: by reason whereof it is iudged infinitely strong, as not hauing any commanding hill neere, whereby it might be preiudiced, nor any way by which forces may be brought before it; saue onely at the two gates towards *Rome* and *Florence*: & yet there so narrow, as there cannot possibly come aboue ten Souldiers *alla file* in rancke. So that as *Livorno* is the key by which all forces must passe that by Sea would approach *Florence*, so is *Siena* the Porte or gate by which they must enter, that eether from *Naples* or the Churches state would come to annoy it. For from the way of *Romagna* or *Bologna*, there is very hard passage for an Armie, so sharpe and inaccessible are the mountaines, which being well considered by *Cosmo* (then Duke) of *Florence*, no maruaile though he neuer rested till he had got the towne and who'e state of *Siena* into his hands.

The meanes thus: The Citie about fortie five yeares since, being besieged by the forces of the Pope, *Charles* the fifth, and

*Cosmo* Duke of *Florence*, rendred it selfe at length to the Emperour, and receaued a garrison of *Spaniards*, but keeping still their manner of gouernment which they before vsed. The Emperour by earnest sollicitation of the D. d'Alua, in whom the Duke of *Florence* his purse (they say) had got him great interest, was content to render it into the Duke of *Florence* his possession, for certaine summes of money to be paid, besides a yearely rent, with a recognition that it was holden of him, and certaine other covenants which some say were neuer performed, as also that this contract was made without the consent of *Philip* king of *Spain* that now is, whereof were not his hands full of actions in other places, it is thought some stirre might arise. So that *Cosmo de' Medici* the second Duke of *Florence* vniited that state with this of *Siena*, which is by estimation bigger then the state of *Millan*, and the most fruitefull part of all *Tuscany*. Wherevpon he altered his Stile which before was *Dux Florentia*, and intituled himselfe *Dux Florentia & Senarum*.

The ornaments of speciall note in this towne are three: The first is the *Duomo*, no great but a faire and rich Fabrick, all the out-side of Marble, so is the Pavement, the roose guilds, & at the foote thereof, are very curiously cut in stone and gilded, also all the Popes from the first till within these eighty yeares. The second is the Citterne, a place, whereout of the Rocke floweth abundance of waters, and haue their Citterne and Pooles very well cut of Stone to receaue the same. The last is the *Piazza*, one hundred and sixtie paces in length, and one hundred and ten in breadth, vety steepely descending. At the head hereof is a very faire Fountaine, and at the foote is the Pallace of the *Signoria*. round about it are very faire and high houses. I haue not seene a Market-steede, excepting that of *Santo Marco* in *Venice*, so beautifull. The fairest Pallace of this Cittie, not excepting the great Dukes, is that of the *Piccol' Inuomini*, begun by *Pius Secundus*, and ended by *Pius Tertius*, both of this family; which needs not much enuie the most stately of those in *Florence*. The walles of this Cittie, as also the houses and streets are all of Bricke.

They

They haue here (they say) the arme of *S. John Baptist*, which they very religiously and with much reuerence hold as a relicke; It was sent by the Turke to *Aeneas Silvius Piccol huomini*, being Pope, by the name of *Pius Secundus*, in lieu whereof, this Pope sent him the halfe Moone for a Crest.

The arme  
of S. John  
Baptist.

There is a Fortresse at the North-west of this towne, reputed strong: howbeit the forme being Quadrangular and therefore the angles not so obtuse as in those of five or more; it is iudged of moderne Enginers, as namely of *Maggi*, a late Italian writer in the subiect of fortifications, not to answer the reputation it hath in generall. The Artillery herein (they say, for we may not enter it) much and good: the garrison but five and twentie at this present, the end, is to command the towne vpon any occasion.

The For-  
tesse.

The Ar-  
tillery.

This City like that of *Pisa*, is noted to be much decayed since their subiection to the family *Medici*, there not being now above two and twenty thousand persons, where in times past were alwayes above fiftie. The Gentlemen of this City are noted to be generally more ciuill, affable, & courteous to strangers then they are in other places. They liue altogether vpon their reuenues, without exercising any trade of Merchandize or exchange vpon the Banck, which course notwithstanding, all the Nobilitie of *Florence* and *Pisa*, euen to the great Duke himselfe do take: as likewise they of *Venice*, *Genoa*, *Rome*, and generally all places and states of *Italy*, except *Naples*.

People de-  
cayed.

The Gen-  
trie.

Their  
course of  
laing.

Having in brieue discoursed of three chiefe Cities of *Tuscany*, *Florence*, *Siena*, and *Pisa*, which deserue so to be called, either for that each of them hath in times past had her seuerall State, or for that they be the Seates of three Archbishopsricks: it now remaineth I aduertise of the commodities of this countrie, beginning with the Mountaines and their fruites, which because they be for the most part craggie and barren, as they allowe those that possesse them but little profit; so they yeeld me that write of them but little matter: no maruaile then though the discourse be like the hilles themselues, barraine.

The three  
chiefe cit-  
ties, and  
why?

Commo-  
dities out  
of Moun-  
taines.

There is digged out of these hilles a kinde of Free-stone, Free-stone,  
passing

Divers colours.

Marble divers colours.

passing hard, of colour according to the nature of the place whereout it is taken, white, redde, and black, or to say more properly, enclining to these colours: of all which sorts there be in *Florence* and elsewhere, very gallant and stately Pallaces builded. They haue also in many places, pitts of Marble, white, blew, and party-coloured excellent good: namely in the Territory of *Massa*, but especially in the Mountaines of *Carrara* and *Lunigiana*: hence dayly they dig for the building of their Churches and Pallaces of *Genoa*, *Florence*, *Bologna*, *Rome*, and *France* also, whereout might be digged enough to serue a world of building, if the transporting it into other places were not so chargeable, or rather the impossibility to bring it from the pits where it is digged, to the Port where they should load it, by reason of the cragginess of the Rocks. Of these Marble Pitts *Iuuenal* seemes to make mention, where he saith:

*Procubuit veluti qui saxa significat portat*

*Axiu.*

And *Iberti* in his sixth Canto saith thus:

*E vedimmo Carrara, oue la gente,*

*Treuia il candido Marmo in tanta copia,*

*Cbe n' assai haurebbe tutta l' oriente.*

The building of Italy fauer then ours, and why.

This is the reason the buildings of *Italy* so farre exceed ours, especially their Churches: as for any other thing in that land, the truth is they can no way compare with vs, nor make good the great opinion the world hath thereof.

Acornes.

The other fruites of these Mountaines which are indeed vse-full and necessary for the sustenance of the inhabitants, are Acornes, Oliues, and Chestnuts: of Acornes especially in the State of *Sienna* are very great store, wherewith, ouer and besides those they eat themselues, they feede their Swine, not hauing of Beanes or Pease to spare for this purpose: The great Duke maketh ycerely of certaine woods he hath in this State aboue a thousand Duckets.

Oliues.

They haue also Oliues, but not in such plentifull manner as to be able to send any Oyle into other parts: for they want hereof to serue their owne turnes; being a commoditie so necessarie,

necessary; as without it, it were not possible they should live, feeding as they doe vpon nothing els but cold frutes and rawe herbes; inso much as the *Villans* and poorer sort feedeth not vpon flesh once a moneth, and then most sparingly; as for Butter and Cheese, were it not for *Lombardie* they should scarce know what it meant.

Their scarcity and necessity.

The third benefit of the hills is the Chestnut, the countrimans bread, as water is his drinke, who (except he be sick) which we then refuse, drinketh no Wine, and except very seldome eateth nothing but those Nuts; the sterility of the countrey being such as not to afford bread of corne for one fourth part of the year. Such is the wretched penurie of this Nation, abounding in nothing but in quaint termes; which discouer their humour, but satisfie not their hunger; whereof shall be more fitly discoufed hereafter. It may heere suffice to inferre that the greater part of this State being hills, and the most of those barraine, & much of these other nothing but Stone: no maruaile then, though they build like the *Agrigentines* and live like the *Syrtians*, though they dwell like *Princes*, & feed like *Peasants*, though their houses be great and their tables small, though the women haue in one day more riches on their back then they spend in three ages on the sustenance of their body. And yet that glory and wealth there is, is in the Cittie, and in the hands of few, to whom all the frutes of the countrey are conueyed: as for the Artificer he can doe no more but live, whereof scarce one in a citty euer groweth rich, and the poore *Contadines* life is such, as if naturally he were not proud in this extreame miserie, it would moue any stranger to pittie his estate.

Chestnuts.

Their use.

Corne scarce.

I haue stood in my lodging on a market-day, when the countrey hath come in, and when commonly they attire themselves in their best robes: yet haue I obserued seauē or eight bare legged, for one otherwise, and in this proportion haue they passed for two or three houres, the rest of their apparel holding suitable conformity therewithall; yet cannot this people talke but with his hatt on his head, and with his hands by his sides, with action also and words, either bebecoming none at all, or at least one in better clothes.

But to leaue the high minds & low fortunes of the *Tuscanes*, the great hills and small commodities of their countrie, vpon which we may well turne the Proverbe, *Parturiant Montes, exst Mus*; I will disceend into their valleys, which indeed (not to defraude them of their right) are like Gardens, whether you respect the small quantitie of each mans seuerall, or their diligence in their keeping, or to say truth, the variety of the fruites thereof.

For the first I can auow, that going vp with another English Gentleman to the top of a steepe hill, some two miles high right ouer *Prato*, to giue our eye the view of that pleasant valley, we could not discerne any one peece of ground about one Acre and a halfe in our opinions, (except the great Dukies pastures about his Pallace of *Poggio*) all which ground being bare and the hedges greene with the Vines, gaue a very pleasant and delightfull prospect, resembling very fitly a Checker table. Now if the good Starres raise one of them to the fortune to be possessed of one of these garden-plots, and a *Cappannecia* (a silly shelter couered with Reedes) therupon yee shall neuer get him from the discourse of his *Villa*, his *Podere*, and his *Entrata*, his farmes, his lands, and his rents; that one would thinke him Lord of some goodly Pallace, and as much land at the least as a Nag might well pace about in a day; when, if we come to see it, it prooues not God knowes above the *Giornata* (a dayes journey) of a Snail, and the poore beast is taken *domage fait* in danger to be seized vpon to the Lords vse of the soile; for Snails, Frogs, Hedg-hogs, and such like, are accounted among the *Delicatezza*, the delicates of *Italy*.

As for their diligence in digging, setting, sowing, manuring and weeding of their ground, it is such as therewith the Dutch diligence in their Roote-grounds may not compare. And lastly for the variety of those commodities which these Valleys yeelde, it shall suffice to comprehend them vnder these three heads; Fruite, Herbage, and Graine, with particular mention of such as I remember; howbeit in *Italian* names, because many of them growe not, nor are yet Christened in England.

Fruite.

## Fruite.

Uua.  
Fichi.  
Aranci.  
Albicocchi.  
Pesche.  
Mele.  
Limoni.  
Cedri.  
Manderle.  
Noci.  
Albatre.  
Cotogne.  
Peponi.  
Cedrioli.  
Cocomeri.  
Zucchi.  
Mele granate  
Ceriogi.  
Pere.  
Nespole.  
Sassine.  
Cypelli.  
Agli.  
Mori.

## Herbage.

Fimocchio.  
Lattuga.  
Insidia.  
Cicerrita.  
Borragine.  
Fiorancio.  
Aneto.  
Bietola.  
Canolo.  
Spinacci.  
Basilico.  
Radici.  
Furri.  
Carote.  
Rape.  
Fior di Velluta.  
Nepitella.  
Menta.  
Cardi.  
Gobbi.  
Selerii.  
Paffinacchi.

## Graine.

Fermento.  
Orzo.  
Segala.  
Miglio.  
Sagina.  
Panico.  
Fane.  
Ceci.  
Fagiuoli.  
Piselli.  
Riso.  
Farro.  
Gioglio.  
Alcchi.  
Orna.  
Spelta.

These are the fruites of the earth whereof they feed; for of others I speake not: and to giue these their due, many of them be very delicate and pleasant; as their *Uua Moscatella*, and *Rimaldesca*. their Figs, Apricocks, Musk-mellons, and such like: howbeit considering either the little time they last, or the small quantitie they haue thereof, the benefit is not so great as is imagined; for none of these last named lasteth above two moneths, except it be the grape, whereof some few are hanged vp in the *Palco* rooffe, to serue the richer sort in Lent. As for the poorer, their chieffest food is Herbage all the yeate through.

Indeed



Indeed for the moneths of August and September, while Grapes be ripe, he keepeth a continuall feast, making them his onely food.

The Vine.

The Vine which without comparison is the greatest commodity of *Tuscany*, if not of *Italy*, hath these uses. Of the Grape they feed, of the iuyce they make Wine; of the shreedinges they make small bundles, like our Fagots of gaulle in *Cambrudge*, & sell them for two *quattrini* a peece for firing: of their leaues they feed their Oxen, or else dung their land: & lastly of the stones they feed their Pigeons, which after the Vintage they riddle out of the Grap: being dried, and these they sell at 20. *solidi* the *Strain*.

There are diuers sorts of Grapes, the names of such as I remember are these; *Vna Canaiola*, good either to eat or for Wine; *Passerina* a small Grape, whereof Sparrowes feed, good onely for Wine; *Trebbiana* the best sort of white Grap: for Wine, whereof they make their *Vin Trebbiano*, *Zibibbo*; these are dried for Lent: *Muscata* with a taste like Muske, not for Wine, but to eat; *Vna grossa* not to eat, but for Wine; *Rauennata*, of it selfe neither to eat, nor for Wine, but a few of these put among a great vessell of Wine, giueth it a colour, for which vse it onely serueth; *San Columbana* and *Rimaldesca* a very delicate Grape, either for Wine or to eat; *Langiola* which hath his name of the moneth of Iuly wherein it is ripe, better to eat then for Wine; and lastly *Cerisiana*, named for the taste it hath like a Cherry, better for Wine then to eat.

They haue also as many names for their Figs, the best are the *Brugioti*, which being needlesse to recount, as also to stand thus particularly vpon all the rest, I will omit to speake: onely in a word I will speake of the Mulberry, for that the mention thereof draweth consequently therewithall the discourse of the Silke-worme, which being another of the greatest commodities of *Tuscany* I may not forget.

Si the-  
wormes.

In the two moneths of May and Iune this worme labourereth, the rest of the yeare they be onely feede kept in some wanne & close places, where they may neither be indangered by cold  
nor



not thunder, for either of these destroyeth them. When she hath wrought her selfe into a bottome, they put it into warme water to finde the end thereof, but if they would preserve the worme for seed, then they finde the end without putting the bottome into water (for this killeth the worme) which being found, and wound vpon a Canie, they suffer the worme to lye vpon a wollen cloath, till growing to a Flie it engender with another, whereof come infinite seeds, which are as is said, kept close all the yeare till the beginning of May, when they are laide in the Sunne and so hatched, but for want of heate, and to haue of them betimes, the women will hatch them in their bosomes. So soone as they be wormes they haue of Mulberie Mulbery. leaues giuen them, whereof they onely feed, to which purpose are daily great store of trees planted: the leafe is sold at foure *quattrini* the pound. Of this sort of trees the great Duke hath planted such plenty along the bankes of *Arno*, and about the Ditches of townes and other publicke places, as it is probably iudged they will within these few yeares be annually worth thirty thousand Duckets. And whereas heretofore the Silke-workers of *Florence*, besides their owne, were vsually wont to buy from *Naples*, *Lombardie*, and *Greece*, so much silke as yearly amounted to three hundred thousand Duckets, it is now thought that shortly they shall haue enough of their owne; for yee shall obserue, that they of *Siena* are richer in lands then they of *Florence*, and therefore trade lesse in all Mechanicall professions: *I sanfricchi di entrata, i fiorentini ricchi per industria*: which is the reason that the *Florentines* exceed the other so farre herein: insomuch as it is thought here are yearly made of *Florence* Rashes to the worth of two Millions of Duckets, & of Silkes and Cloathes of gold and silver, to the value of three Millions; hence grew this *Asiome* of *Aristotle*: *The more baraine the soyle, the more rich the Citie*: as he obserued by *Athens* in *Greece*, and we finde by *Norremburge* in *Germany*. Good reason they of *Florence* haue to encrease this commoditie, by all possible meanes, without the which I see not how they should be able (not exhausting in few yeares their estate) to be

releued with the necessarie commodities of other countries; as  
 Corne from *Sicilie*, Leather from *Barbarie*, Tinnie, Lead, Hea-  
 ring, Chaular, and other such provision from England, & from  
 diuers other places other things as needfull: their State not ha-  
 uing any Marchandize to spare, except a little *Alume* to coun-  
 termeale this great charge withall: So that their helpers in in-  
 dustrious paine-taking in the making of these silkes, their  
 clothes of gold and silver, their Rashes, and painting of Lea-  
 ther for Hangings (a trade much vsed among them) howbeit  
 the matter it selfe conuining from *Spain* and other countries,  
 whereupon they worke, and onely the workmanship their  
 owne, the aduantage can be but small, *as is shew'd of Naturall*

Alume.

Silkes.

Clothes of  
gold and  
silver, &c.Herbes &  
Rootes.

Flesh.

Another helpe is their egregious & incredible *Parimony* in  
 feeding, as also their frugality from extraordinary spending, for  
 should they either fare, or exceed in other charges, as we do in  
 this countrey, it were impossible but their State should be ruined.

Concerning Herbage, I shall not need to speake, but that it is  
 the most generall food of the *Tuscan*, at whose table a Sallet is  
 as ordinary, as Salt at ours: for being eaten of all sorts of per-  
 sons, & at all times of the yeare: of the sicke because they loue  
 to spare: of the poore, because they cannot choose: of many  
 Religious, because of their vow, of most others because of their  
 want: it remaineth to beleue that which themselues confesse,  
 namely, that for euery horse-load of flesh eaten, there is ten cart  
 loades of herbes and rootes, which also their open Markets  
 and priuate tables doe witnesse, and whereof if one talke with  
 them fasting, he shall haue sensible feeling.

But for the better prooue of the little flesh here spent, it shall  
 not be amisse to remember what the Chancellor of *Prato* told  
 me concerning this matter, who seemed by his discourse a man  
 of good vnderstanding, & who ought by his office to haue the  
 knowledge hereof very familiar: vpon some conference with  
 him had about the great Dukes impositions and *Gabell* which  
 he had in that state, he tolde me among diuers other matters,  
 which shalbe remembered hereafter, that he had out of *Prato* &  
 the precincts thereof, a thousand Duckets *communibus annis* for

the

Journal

the flesh there eaten, at the rate of five *denari* the pound; for so much he hath. Now if we reduce Duckets to *denari* (which are the fourth part of a *Quattrino*) & divide that number by five, we shall finde the number of pounds of flesh eaten there, after the rate of twelve ounces to the pounds (for so is their weight of all things whatsoever) which summe by the rule of three we may reduce to pounds English of sixteene ounces, and then dividing by fourteene; know how many Stone is there eaten in a yeare. According to which computation we shall finde a Stone & Stone the people there being as already said 16000 persons; so that there is little more then a Stone a peece for the yeare: a proportion which in Newgate market, and *S. Nicholas* shambles will hardly be beleeved.

*Pythagoras* found by the dimension of the foote the perfect *Riviera* of *Hercules* & *Phidias* of *Athens* found by the paw of the *Lion*, the true proportion of the whole body: so by this small store of flesh spent in *Prato*, may well be conceived what proportion is spent in the whole state of *Tuscany*. It may here not impertinently be remembred (speaking of flesh) of a kinde of meate which the *Italian* hath out of *Barnarja*, howbeit in no great quantity; which they call *Asiasta*, it is a powder made of Beefe dried & sold in their shops; for the nature of the flesh of *Africk* being such not to take Salt, (the *Alarbaes* of that countrey) dwelling in tents, which they alwayes remove when their cattle have eaten v<sup>p</sup> the pasture, to some other place, doe bake their flesh in Ovens sordie, till it may be beaten to powder, which done, they barrell it v<sup>p</sup>, & carry with them for a kinde of very good food: And I have heard also that the *Tartars* bring of this into the warres, whereof they feed, and wherewith puttng about two handfulls of it into water, they give their horses, which without any other provinder keepe them selfe fat & listy.

Micilla

As concerning their graine in *Tuscany*, it is very much in kind & very little in quantity: whereof most yeares they have too sensible feeling, & are supplied out of other places, as *India*, *Serthina*, & sometimes *England* & the East countreys: they have of Wheat more then either *Rye* or *Barley*, yet of neither sufficient:

Graine.

as for their *Sagina*, *Panico*, *Miglio*, *Sorgo*, *Tweo*, and such like, they are fine names, but make but course meale and bread only for the pooer sort, who (might they not want thereof) would thinke their market much amended.

Haruest.

Their haruest is in *June*, they mowe their Wheate and Rie, & reape their Parley; quite contrary to the common course in England: they cut their corne while it is somewhat greene, I take it, least it should shill: they suffer it afterwards to stand in shocks till it be well withered and dried, then making a flore on the ground where it grew, they presently thresh it, & stak vp the Strawe for their necessarie vses: the same ground which hath carried this crop, if it be in heart is againe presently tilled, and sowed with *Miglio*, *Panico*, *Sagina*, or some pulse or other, which againe they reape in September. They measure their corne by the *Stajo*, as we ours by the Strike or Bushell, it containeth in weight fiftie five pounds, at twelue ounces the poūd. And as we measure our land by the Acre, so they theirs by the *Staiora*, which taketh his name of the *Stajo*: because one of these parcels of land, if it be on the hilles, will aske a *Stajo* of corne to seed it, otherwise in the valleyes euery measure will ordinarily seed foure *Staiora*, I suppose that six of these make one of our Acres. The country-man will stirre of them (as we call it) eightene with his two yooke of Oxen; the one yooke feeding while the other laboureth in one day. He hath for his labour foure *Craxie* a peece, which is three-pence sterling; so that he and his beasts earne some foure shillings six-pence sterling the day: how this agreeth with our rate in England, I cannot say, I went not out so good a husband. The *staiora* doth ordinarily yeeld seauen and eight *stais* crop, which is little short of the proportion of foure quarters an Acre.

Soile.

The nature of the soile is generally light and sandy, laid in small ridges like the fields of *Norfolke*, which as I take it, argueth the lightnesse. But by reason of the Cities & great townes neare, and the number of people, it is much forced, and made more fruitful. For there are those who all their life time doe nothing but with their Ass go vp and downe the cines, gathering

vp

vp the ding in the streetes, and carrying it to the land of those with whom they haue bargained, paying out of euery Asses burthen one *quattrino* to the Duke before they passe the gates, but this is a discourse for another place.

It remaineth to speake of the Salt, another comoditie which they haue here in *Tuscany* in some reasonable manner. It is very white and good, much better then that of the Churches Salt, which hath almost the colour of Saw-dust, or that of *Liguria* which is little better. The two places from whence they haue this comoditie, is the City of *Grassetta* in the *Maremma*, and the pits not far from the City of *Volterra*; howbeit they make of it at these pits in greater measure; where it is reported are daily made throughout the yeare twenty foure *Moggie*, euery of these measures being foure and twenty *Stais*, that is of our measure some sixteen strike a peece: so that there are dayly made 48. quarters. They know when it is sufficiently boiled by the throwing in of an Egge, for if it sinke, then is it not yet perfect, but if it swimmeth (*a galla*) then they boile it no longer. There are not farre hence (may I digresse so farre) waters of such a scalding and sulphurous nature, as if a Dog or such like creature be tied to a rope and throwne therein for the space of a quarter of an houre, yee pull out nothing but the bare bones. And true it is, that the aire here abouts sometimes of the yeare is so contagious, as the inhabitants abandon their homes. The place being so dangerous, I will dwell no longer upon the discourse thereof, but returne to the Salt-pits, out of which the great Duke maketh no small benefit, considering he buyeth it at one *quattrini* the pound, and selleth it againe at twelue, and in some parts of his State at fiftene, which being bought at this rate commeth to two Duckets the *Stais*. Howbeit it is said of some, that it costeth him five *quattrini* the pound, which I rather beleue, and so his gaine is but two third parts. Sure I am that there is a *Banda* vpon a great penaltie, that none presume to buy but of his officers onely. And seeing here is mention made of the great Dukes impositions vpon Salt, I will also annex his gaine raised by Wheate, though I must confesse their

Sulphurous  
waters ef-  
fect.

Wheat en-  
grossed.

an 2

an 3

place more proper when I shall speake of his Renewall. After the *Raccolta*, harvest when wheate is at the cheapest, a note is taken of every man's particular croppe, how much he hath, what will feed his ground and serve his house, the rest the officers will buy at the price of the Market: he is not (as I take it) directly forced to sell it: but a *Bando* is sent forth, that no man shall buy, and so by consequent, because he must needs have money, with an unwilling willingness he is content they shall have it: This is bought vnder pretence to haue the Cities well stored, whether it is carryed into the great Dukes Granaries, in which places for any accident either of dearth or of warre, (though for the one the countrey is well secured) here is very good store to be found: It was reported in the *Muricani* (Store-houses) at *Pisa* when I was there, there was no lesse then one hundred and fiftie thousand *Stia*. And it was likewise holden for certaine, that some yeares of plentie, he buyeth eight or nine hundred thousand, at the rate commonly of foure or five *Lauers* the *Stia*; (a *Lauer* is nine-pence sterling) and selleth it againe as this yeare he did for aboue ten. Now by buying such an infinite Masse, and selling it at such a rate, the gaine is easily computed to be almost as many Duckets as were *Stia* bought. His subjects will tell vs of a Millions gaine some yeare, but that were infinite. Now least when the new Corne comes into his Granaries, he should not vent the old, as being fustie, or hauing some other fault, a *Bando* is sent out, that the Bakers shall bake no other. There is another inconuenience stranger then this, a case wherein a man may not serue himselfe of his owne, which had it not bene tolde me by a Gentleman *Saneser* of good credit, I should hardly haue beleued, much lesse haue aduentured to aduertise thereof. If a Gentleman of *Siena* haue a *Villa* in the Territory of *Monte Almus*, neare by; and therein good store of Wheate to serue his turne for the maintenance of his house in *Siena*, and whether, it may be with little cost brought, is not being farre off, and where perhaps he cannot well spare money to buy of others: notwithstanding he cannot be suffered to bring of his owne to his house, but must there take of the

great Duke to make his promise. How hurtfull these Monopolies and ingrossings are, the Lawes made against them in well governed states doe witness, and the people where they be practised doe feele.

Of their Pastures and feeding for Cattell, I shall not need to speake, for they be not here with nequashred, as not being able to spare offe *Macara* from tillage, except in the *Maremma* and lowes of *Pisa*, which being little and soone spoken of, and not having whereof to be spoken, but that it is little, I will leave: as also all other things to be obserued in the Countie it selfe, and proceed to the government.

The Government (to speake in one word, and not to use a hardier terme) is merely *Despoticall*. The Prince himselfe is of stature meane, of colour by complexion browne, by age grised, of body corpulent, of age somewhat above fiftie, his name *Ferdinando*, who (on his brothers death) was Cardinall, which dignity he hath since renounced, having attained this Scepter, whereof he had not beene capable, if he had before entered the order of Priest-hood. He is of the familie *Medici*, a noble house of *Florence*, the first of which was *Lippo*, not three hundred yeares since (whose Father, though a Colliar) yet by his vertues, and his posteritie also succeeding from time to time, advanced the reputation of this name to the greatnesse wherein now it is: whereof hath beene many Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and other personages of great place; besides two Popes, two and twenty *Gonsalviers*, and four Dukes: of these, three have had the title of (Great) as also where is shewed.

The descent of this Prince might be deriued from *Lippo*, but for breuities sake, I will omit foure or five, and begin at *Gionanni* the Father of the first *Cosmo*, because from him come the two houses that haue had the Signiory of this State, as in this table following appeareth.

The







The descent and issue of the great duke appearing in this to-  
 ble, it remaineth that I speake of his parentage. His Highnesse  
 matched in the house of *Lothario*, with *Madama Christina* that  
 Dukes daughter *Don Giesord' Epi*, base sonne to *Alphonso* the  
 second, the Duke of *Ferrara*, that now is married to his Sister.  
*Don Vasyrio Orsini* Duke of *Bracciano*, that now with the Dut-  
 chesse his wife, sister to the Cardinal *Mont' Alto* is in Court, is  
 sonne of another of his Sisters. The Duke of *Montous* married  
*Madama Leonora* of this house; he hath also neere alliance  
 with the family *Zzeria*: And it was said in the Court at my  
 coming from *Livorno*, that *Ranuccio Farnese* Duke of *Parma*,  
 should marry *Maria* sister to *Leonora*, both daughters to *Fran-  
 cesco* his brother: Howbeit it was afterwards reported that he  
 should marry the sister of Cardinal *Mont' Alto*, neece to *Sixtus  
 Quintus*, (whom since he hath married: and *Maria* is wife to  
*Henry* the 4. King of *France*).

His Armes are six Apples or Balles of gold in a field Azure, His armes.  
 unto which some say is added since his obtaining the Scepter,  
 the Armes of *Florence* the *Flower de Life*. But having the au-  
 thoritie of one so approved as is *Guicciardine* to the contrary. I  
 rather say with him, that this addition was given of speciall fa-  
 vour to the familie *Medici* by the house of *France*; by whom in  
 his first booke page 16. it is plaine, that when *Charles* the eight  
 extended his voyage for *Naples*, he sought (as a league much  
 imposing that action) the friendship of the *Florentine* State,  
 and that as he there saith, if they would not sojyne with him in  
 the service, yet at least they would grant him passage for his ar-  
 me, and victuals for his money: whereto he laboured by let-  
 ters both the State in generall, and *Piero Medici* in particular, in  
 which his letters to *Medici* he putteth him in minde of the ma-  
 rious fauours and honours done by *Emili* the eleventh to *Loren-  
 zo* his father, and to his ancestors: that they had given *molt  
 dimostrazioni per conservation della grandezza d'essi*. Many  
 proofes of willingnesse to preserve the *Medicies* greatnesse:  
 and that they had honoured *in testimonio de beneuolenza, l'insigne  
 loro con l'insegne proprie della casa di Francia*, in shew of their

loue, their armes with theirs of France.

His stile.

Concerning his Stile, it is to be obserued, that since the government came to the hands of this familie, it hath altered foure times: for first, when by *Clement* the 7. his meanes, who was a *Medici*, *Alexandro* had obtained the signory of *Florence*, he was entituled Prior perpetuall: after that matching in the house of *Austria*, he was created Duke of *Florence*. The title yet changed twice more in the person of *Cosmo*, father to this great duke now living, for hauing visited the States of *Florence* and *Siena*, he was entituled, *Dux Florentie et Senarum*: And after by *Pius Quintus* he was created *Magnus Dux Hetruria* for some special service done to the Church.

This title of Duke is not of any great antiquitie in *Italy*; for although *Titus Livius* speaketh of *Duces*, yet he meaneth Captaines of Souldiers, or rather such as had the leading of an Armie by the Senates appointment, and not such as haue absolute authoritie ouer Citties and Countries. The first bringer in of this name into *Italy*, was *Longinus* King of the *Lombardes*, one hundred sixtie sixe yeares after the declination of the *Romaine* Empire: By him at the first were created foure, which bore their title of these places; *Benemutunum*, *Turine*, *Fruily*, and *Spoleta*: At which time also were instituted the two Marquesats of *Ancona* and *Trenis*, which still liue in the names, though dead in the persons that should haue them: and it should seeme in some sort, this title of Marquesse was better then that of Duke. For in their language (saith *Biando*) it signifieth *Perpetuum Magistratum*, because they might leaue their title and Signorie to their heires, which the Dukes could not doe, but by the leaues of the Kings of *Lombardie*. Some say this word of *Marques* is deriued from the French (*Marque*) which signifieth a Prouince; as that a *Marques* should signifie the President of a Prouince. Others thinke it is deriued of the Dutch word (*March*) among whom this title is in great honor, & signifieth a *Signor* ouer a Country to some limit or marke, for so *Altimeri* in his Scholia vpon *Cornelius Tacitus* interpreteth. As for this title of great Duke, there neuer was any before in *Italy*, nor I thinke in *Europe*, but he of *Muscovia*:

Of

Of Dukes there be diuers in this Countie of Italy, as the Dukes of Ferrara, Modena, Parma, Urbino; besides foure and twenty in the kingdome of Naples.

His title. \

Concerning his claime and right to the Crowne, it is beyond the compasse of a bare relation, (as this is) to dispute how good it is but rather to discourse what it is, neither to determine how iustly his Predecessors got it, but how lineally it is deuolued from ths to him. The meanes how this house rose to such superiority in a cōmon-wealth, where was alwaies maintained such equallitie, is by the Florence historie easily discerned to be their popularity & insinuatione stealing into the peoples good opinions, ouer who they oftentimes in cases of insolencies & oppressions by the nobler sort, vndertookey the Patronage, & became as it were the *Tribunes* of the people in Rome, or the *Avogadori del Comune* in Venice, who (as I take it) are *Advocates* & *Intercessors* for the citizē, preferring their sutes to the Courts. Howbeit there is a difference, for this is an office instituted, that was a fauor enchroched vpon, this is by law limited, that was by mā nature so infinite, as it staid not running on this plausible race till the wished goale was gotten. Venice hath beene wise in this case, where it hath been danger for a great man to deserue too well, and beloued too much; for which cause only (as in their *Annals* appeareth) some of the haue lost their liues, fearing what this popularitie of theirs might effect, if it were put to the triall: & holding belike that principle good in a cōmonwealth, which is a ground in matters of the Church, which saith, *Melius est perire unū quā unione*. It is better one perish then vnitie: factions being as dāgerous in the one, as schismes in the other. To which purpose Athens and Rome can afford many fit examples, & indeed so many, as it were needlesse to recount, either that of Scilla and Marius, Caesar and Pompeius, Orlanius and Anthonius: or any other particulars, either of the one state or the other. And but that the (colours Nob'e and Popular) were in seuentie fixe in good time vnitied in the City of Genoa; there had not wanted at this day an example in that City also, eyther of the family, Doria, Spinoli, Grimaldi, or Fieschi, as by Oberto Foglietta, a very iudiciall writer of these times is proued.

But to returne to the history of the family *Medici*, it is to be understood, that *Lorenzo*'s grand-child to the first *Cosmo*, who for his well deserving of the Common-wealth was fir-named *Pater Patrie*, & vncle to *Clement* the 7. who for deserts cleane contrary merited the title of *Ruina Reipub*. He I say, after the death of his brother *Guigliano*, who was slaine by the families *Salviati* and *Pazzi* governed the State of *Florence* with all wisdom, granitie and moderation, without respect of any particular advancement of his house, but onely of the weale publick. To him had all the States and Princes of *Italy* recourse in all their matters of controuersie to be ended, and of counsell to be guided: inso much, as in his dayes, *Florence* seemed another *Delphus* and he another Oracle: as he would, were all officers chosen, all families preferred, and all common actions of the State carried. So that as in *Genoa* the *Adorni* and *Fregosi* were by the people exalted, to curbe the vnbrideled insolencies of the *Colore Nobile*: as in *Siena* the *Petrucchi* were made great to restraine the disordered humours of some aspiring Citizens: as in *Perugia* the *Baglioni* were aduanced to impeach the proud desseignes of the *Raspani*, of whose proceedinge the City grew iealous; and as in *Bologna* the *Bentiuogli* were preferred to extraordinary honours & authoritie, through the hate they bore their Nobles: So likewise the first raising of this familie *Medici*, was their plausible carriage towards the meaner and baser rancke of Citizens; by whom they were chosen for a head against the greater and more powerfull sort. And not contented with this prehemenencie, their desires rested not: vntill (as in the person of *Alexander* shall appeare) one of their house came to be Duke of so great a State, brother to a King of *France*, and sonne in law to an Emperour. So ordinary and naturall a thing it is in the minde of man, in matter of ambition and greatnesse, to keepe no mediocrity, that when yee giue him the authority and commaund ouer few, and in small matters, he cannot lift his vast thoughts within the limits prescribed, but is so carried beyond himselfe with a desire to rule, as without consideration either of vertue by which, or of friends by whom, he was aduanced;

wanted; he is violently driven with the streame of that his ambitious passion; to oppresse aswell those by whose meanes, as those for whose cause he was at first advanced. Which ambitious humour of reigning (though it reigned not in this good *Lorenzo*, who with the reputation of a great wise man, and no lesse good Citizen dyed in the year 1492. with whom faith *Guicciardine* dyed the glory and peace of *Italy*;) yet it made the way to those garboiles and troubles which his childrens greatnesse (by his desert) and aspiring minds (by their owne corruption) d'd afterwards cause in *Florence*. For leaving behind him three sonnes, *Piero*, *Giovanni*, and *Guigliam*; the first succeeded his father, but not with like moderation in that authority wherein his fathers vertues left him in: but asserting a lordly Superiority and sole government; and as my Author saith, *Con consiglio durissimo contrario a' consigli paterni ne communicato co' cittadini principali*, with a counsell quite contrary to that of his father, and kept still secret from the chiefe Citizens; he sought to carry all matters after the vnbrideled sway of his owne affections; so greatly to the dislike of the Citizens, and to the prejudice of their liberty; as he with his brothers were worthily banished; who after many attempts to be repatriate, yet still repulled, were not withstanding at the last by the meanes of *Ferdinando* King of *Spain* and *Naples* restored (I meane the two younger brothers, for *Piero* was now dead) *risplacando quell' antica grandezza de' Medici, che governandola per imperio famine & con arbitrio più assoluto di quello che si solua*, taking upon the againe the former greatnes of the *Medici*, & carrying it more lordly, and with a more peremptory swinge then they were wont, *Guicciard. lib. 11. cap. 318*. This restoring of the *Medici*, & subiection of the Citie, was in the year 1512, after they had beene eightene yeares banished, in which lordly course of carrying themselves, they continued fiftene yeares, till 1527. when *Clement* the Pope being in danger at *Rome*, & fled into the Castle *S. Angelo*, the *Florentines* taking advantage of the time, attempted the recouering of their liberty, Howbeit at the Popes instance, the Emperour *Charles* the first made

*Alexander Medici* Prior perpetuall. And after in 35. (as hath beene before said, speaking of his Stile) having matched in the house of *Austria*, he created him duke, causing an emblematicall statue to be made of *Brasse* in the chiefe *Piazza* of the town, with this inscription in the name of the Emperour, *To fili. si quis Luserat, ultor ero.* My Sonne I will reuenge thee, if any dare to hurt thee, as a threat to the Citty if they offered to recouer their liberty. This *Alexander* fyrst Duke of *Florence*, being murdered by his cosen *Loorenzo*, and having no issue, the gouernment fell to *Cosmo* son to *Giouanni de Medici* & *Maria Saluati*, heire in the next line, & Father to this great duke that now liueth, to whom by the death of his elder brother *Francesco*, this State is deuolued.

His Court. Concerning his Court, it is the generall opinion, that it is greater then of a Duke, lesse then of a King; which compared with other Dukes of *Italy* is true: howbeit if it be considered either what number of persons are therein, or what provision there is made, I thinke it may hardly compare with the houses of the Nobility of *England*, comprehending in this nūber none but such as liue and haue their dyet in Court, whereof there be very few. For this Court doth yeld two sorts of courtiers: *della bocca, & della Casa*, (of the mouth and of the house) that is, of such as feede there, and of such as retaine onely. Of the first sort is the great Duke himselfe, the Duke *Bracciano*, their Dutcheses, their children, and some few seruants besides to the number as I haue credably heard no: aboue foure and twenty: of the other sort are other officers of Court, which notwithstanding liue at their owne priuate tables, as *M. insignior Puzo* Archbisshop of *Pisa*, and thereto his Highnesse, by whose counsell he is especially aduised, *Il Signior Piero Vmbaldi*, *il signior Canalliere Concino*, *il Signior Belisario Vinta*, *il Signior Canalliere Serguidi*, *il signior Piero Conti* his Secretaries, & diuers others his officers. To these if we adde *Don Giouanni* & *Don Antonio*, both *M. d. s.*, the one his brother, the other his Nephue illegitimate, *Il signior Camillo del Monte*, generall of the foot, *Il signior Conte Gherardo de la Collonell* of the horse, *Il signior Francesco Montauti* generall of his gallies, besides the *Luarant* *Otto*, & diuers others Countes and Nobles of *Florence*, you shall see a very honourable

ble and noble presence.

The order of this discourse requireth that in this place I briefly aduertise of the order of *San Stephano*, whereof his highnesse is grand-master, which was first instituted by *Cosmo* his father, and confirmed by *Pius Quintus*. But because the ordinances & statutes thereof be very many, as well concerning the investiture as degradation, & for that there is a booke written thereof intituled *della Religione di San Stephano*: I will only remember that the *Gran Maestro* conferreth diuers other offices belonging to this order, and of chiefe account, vpon persons of principall qualitie in his state: as the office of *Gran Comandator*, *Gran Conestabile*, and *Gran Priore*. There be three degrees of this order; the first is of *Cancelliers guerriers*, the second are *Berlesustichi*; the last *Seruienti*. Of the first sort haue beene made (as in their Pallace at *Pisa* appeareth) about one thousand and twenty. The second are Priests & persons of the church, not so honourable as the former. The last are such as haue baser offices either about the Pallace, or about their lands, and receiue annuall wages for their paines. The Cognisance or badge of this order, is a crosse, in forme like that of the knights of *Malta*, but differing in colour, for that of *Malta* is white, this is red. They are bound to weare it alwayes vpon their vpper garment, which the great duke himselfe also obserueth. They are bound also to serue at Sea in the *Grand Masters* watter for six yeares (as I take it) if need be: whereas they of *Malta* are bound to serue against the Turke all the dayes of their life. The King his of this order may marry, and hold temporall possessions, which they of *Malta* may not. This order is lineally to descend from the father to the eldest sonne, without any more creation, like the Titles of honour in *England*, vntill his father vpon demerit be formerly degraded. What other priuiledges they haue, in the booke thereof writte appeareth, & what vs the *Grand-Master* hath of their seruice in all his occasions, is as easily coniectured.

It followeth to speake somewhat of his riches: a matter whereof one may discourse by probabilities, but can determine nothing of certaine: for if they which marry our rich widowes

His order  
of S. Ste-  
phen.

Riches.



in England be many times deceived in the reckoning, finding the account fall farre short of that the world iudged, & they themselves hoped: how easie a thing is it to erre in the valuing of so great a Prince as the great duke of *Tuscany*? Besides if one should vndertake to write of euery thing he hath scene, & giue it the *Italian* valuation (who in matters of their owne, euer speake *alla larga*) I assure my selfe he should be very much deceived, and gaine the imputation of a notable Gull for his credulity, & a notorious Bugiarde for his deliuey, against which, note his farre trauaile neither giues him warrant nor *superedeas*. I was in a *Florentines* gallery, who hath sometimes beene in our Countrey, where besides one table of Tutch, and three other of Serpentine, Agate, and such like, very curiously wrought and bordered with flowers of their naturall colours (which might be painted for ought I knew): howbeit he protested they were all the naturall colours of the stone, and of the infinite charge it cost to cut so many, before they could finde such as should giue the true lustre of the flower, which surely is there done most liuely: and besides many Statues of Marble, Alabaster & Brasse, he shewed vs a Cupbord of Boxes yet vnfinished (which he said hath already cost foure and twenty thousand crownes: we see also diuers Medalles, at the least fve hundred, which he valued some at twenty and thirty crownes the peece: for the value of his Cupbord I know not, but for his Medalles I am sure, that in *Venice* a man may buy as good and as Antique of a *Montibanc* for two gazets: a peece, which is not two pence sterling. Now if one had swallowed this Gudgeon of one hundred and twynie thousand Crownes (for so much he said these toys in this Gallery did cost) he must needs either haue surted of a fulnelle, or else haue discovered his infirmity by vomiting it to others.

But to returne to the great Dukes riches, in the Gallery at *Florence* where is his *Guarda-robe*, his Wardrope, and Armory, there is very much and massie Plate, with one Cupbord of pure gold, the value I cannot estimate. There is also one Table in making for the Emperour, which hath already cost (they say)

twenty



twenty two thousand duckets set with very many & very faire Stones. There is one Deske worth (as they dare affirme) one Million. There are likewise *Rapiers* with hilts of gould, and in their *Pomels* either the Spheres or Clockes very curiously wrought. There be swords so artificially made, that they may be throwne out the length of three, and being at the full length, it dischargeth a Pistoll: there is the Sword of *Charlemaine* greatly prized. There be Targets which with a Pinne turned make Daggers flie out of all sides. There are besides the diuers weapons of most Nations, with many other things for the richnesse and rarenesse worth the remembring, as also the great Dukes chaine of Diamonds, and the great Duchesses chaine of Pearle which they weare dayly, two jewels no doubt of exceeding value: besides all other their jewels & treasures not seene. But the thing which most argueth his Riches, and whereof he and other Princes haue their daily vses, and whereby they be valued, is ready Money and Coine; which the world (and no doubt vpon good reason) iudgeth to be very great: insomuch as the *Neapolitani* calleth him the King of coine: for in their play at *Primer* (their foure sutes of cardes being *denari*, *Coppe*, *Spade*, *Picche*, *Coyne*, *Cuppes*, *Swords*, *Pikes*) when (as the manner is) yee aske him for what Carde he pulleth, if he pull for a *Denaro* he answereth; I pull for the great Duke of *Tuscany*. And truly I am of opinion (submitting my selfe to better judgments) that as in *France* there be foure great Rivers farre excelling the rest of that countrey in generall, and yet one another in some one particular: *Loyre* the greatest, *Rhone* the swiftest, *Sayne* the richest, and *Sone* the sweetest. So in *Italy* there are foure great States, aboue all the other without exception, which notwithstanding in some one particular compared together, exceed one another. The Pope greatest in authoritie, the kingdome of *Naples* greatest in land-forces; the *Venetians* mightiest at Sea; and this great Duke mightiest in purse. Of whose present money some let not to say that he hath thirty millions of Duckets, others talke of fise and twenty, none vnder twenty; but how truly, must be left to every mans pleasure to iudge, as a thing vtterly vnknowne, except we may guide our coniectures by

this inference, which may thus be collected.

Duke *Francesco* in the year 1576. reported to the *Venetian* Embassador, that his father *Cosmo* dying, left him in debt eight hundred thousand Duckets: for the payment whereof he was forced to take vp great summes of the *Genoeses*, at vnreasonable interest. Notwithstanding it appeareth by the relation of the said Embassador, that within ten yeares after he was cleared of that debt, and had imburshed to his coffers five Millions. It may then be probably argued, that if in ten yeares there were six nullions encrease, in twenty yeares more, there be at least twelue more added. But if it be objected that Duke *Francesco* in the terme of those ten yeares had many hundred thousand duckets confiscate to his coffers by the treason of *Pucci*, who with his complices had plotted to enuite the Duke, the Cardinall, and *Don Piero* to a feast, and there to murder them all, and so to recouer their liberty; It may hereto be answered that he was likewise a Prince of very great expences, and that for instance in that very time, he built the Pallace and water-workes of *Pratolino*, which cost him at the least three hundred thousand duckets. As for this great Duke now living, his expences are small for so great a Prince, as by the small number of them which liue in Court may appeare. And yet euery *Carnenale* time he retirith himselfe from *Florence*, where is much to be spent, to *Pisa* where is somewhat to be gained: he saith he doth it for the affection he beareth that towne; his people say, for the loue he hath to spare; our English Marchants there say, it is for loue of their commodities, which about that time arriue, and are brought vp by his officers.

It is likewise knowne he hath great summes of money in bank, which must needs bring in their yearely gaine, besides three-score thousand duckets entrate, which he yearly detaineth from his brother *Don Piero*, who liueth in *Spaine*, & the gaine of Wheate before remembred; all which with his yearly reueneue may make one strongly perswaded, that his ready money is little lesse then that which is iudged of them. which rate it at the highest. I should surely thinke it an incredible masse, but that I haue read for certaine, that in the year 1592. the ready money

of *Amurath*, father to *Mahomet* the third, the great *Turke* now living, was at the least fifty millions. And although the disproportion of their Entrates may seeme much to weaken the force of this comparison: yet I see not, considering on the other side as great difference in their expenses, but that it may carry some good shew of likelihood. To conclude this point, it appeareth, that the great Duke hath two Revenues whereby he groweth rich; that is, great impositions, and great sparing (for sparing is a great revenue.) There yet remaineth two other meanes to make him absolutely rich, the love of his subjects, and their private wealth (for the wealth of the Subject is the wealth of the king, and where the people is rich, the Prince is not poore. But sure it is that he hath neither the one, nor they the other.

It is to be thought that he which hath money such store wanteth no forces (for money is called the sinews of warre) I will therefore to this short discourse of his Riches, adde in x word what is thought of his forces. His strength at Sea is not great, for he hath not above six Gallies, neither hath had since the overthrowe that the *Turkes* gaue him at the little Ilands *Forniche*, where he lost two of his best Gallies and one Galleon. In these that remaine he hath besides Munition ordinary, (that is eight or ten a peece,) about two hundred Souldiers and eight hundred slaues. He hath also much good Munition, and a competent number of Souldiers in his Fortes of the *Porto Ferrario*, in the Iland of *Elba*: of which place his Father was im-  
His forces.  
Porto Ferrario.  
 patronized by the Lord thereof, the *Signor di Piombino*, with the consent of *Charles* the sixth: both because the Patron thereof was not able to defend it against the *Corfari* which daily robbed and spoyled it: as also, because for the small defence it had, it might haue fallen into the hands of the *Turkes*, and so by reason of the Scite (standing very fitly for such a purpose) it might haue prejudiced the whole country of *Italy*. Notwithstanding all the revenue of the Isle is left free to the Lord of *Piombino*, & vnder his command are all other the towns & vnfortified places. In this Port which is capable of what fleet soever, do all ships that trade from the *Leuā* westward & contrariwise

touch, as in a place as necessary, fit, and secure, as are the *Terres* to the *Spaniards* sailing to the West-Indies: so that if he with this Isle had also a good number of Gallies and a purpose to offend, he might very easily infest all the Seas vpon the coast of *Barbary*, vpon *Prænence*, *Lygurria*, *Tuscania*, and all that side of *Italie*, and in a manner make himselfe Lord of those Mid-land Seas. He hath also (as is reported) one hundred Soldiers, & good Artillerie in a Fort he holdeth at *Marseilles* called *Castle d'ier*, by the sufferance of which peece the *Genoeses* ship was in *Iannary* last taken, (wherof the parties grieved complained lately to the great Duke) where besides foure hundred *Spaniards* put to the Gallies, was also found foure hundred thousand crownes, sent thether from *Spaine*. He hath also in those thirty Castles and Fortes before spoken of (wherein are garrisons but very small, as in some fiftie, and in others five and twentie, in others not aboute fiftene & in some fewer by reason of the good tearmes he standeth in with his neighbours Princes, or at least by the good fauour of the time, for that they be otherwise diuerted, that would be busie, to the number of six hundred in all. He hath likewise in all his sixteene Cities, garrisons of Souldiers more or lesse, as in the Cyttadell *S. Miniato*, and the new Fortresse at *Florence* one hundred & twenty, in *Pisa* fiftie, in *Siena* twentie five, in *Linorno* two hundred and twenty, &c. In all which places he is said to be very well prouided of Munition, Armour, weapons, Powder, shott, and such like military prouision; the certaine quantity wherof I cannot certainly enforme, because, but vpon especiall fauour, and by commandement, they dare not let one come into their Fortes. And to write what others say, were to erre himselfe and seduce others. I was by good meanes in the Castle at *Linorno*, where I told of field peeces three-score and foure, whereof (they told me) that twelue were canon, and demi-canon; by which proportion it is to be coniectured that he is very well furnished.

These Souldiers of whom is already spoken, are all in pay; he hath also a *Rassegna*, his trained Souldier (as we in *England* call them) about the number whereof there is great difference; between that which is writtē by way of relation, & that which

is by way of conference reported. Relations (thē which nothing is more false) write that there be thirty six thousand: but I talked with a Captaine, who hath the mustering & charge of three hundred within the precincts of *Prato* (then whom no man should know better) and he tolde me but of fifteene thousand. In this diuersitie of report I haue no other guide to direct me, to whether of these I should giue credit, then by a rateable proportion of the part with the whole, to inferre whether of these two commeth nearer to the trueth, in this manner. It is now certainly holden, that the number of people in the States of *Florence* and *Sienna* vnited together, are about eight hundred thousand, and that they which reckon six in the one & five in the other, and so make one million and one hundred thousand, do somewhat overshoot the true number, much more they that reckon 800000. in the state of *Florence*, and 600000. in that of *Sienna*, not considering that the people of *Sienna* and *Pisa* with their precincts are much decayed, as hath already beene partly said. Now then if sixteene thousand people (the number of thē within the *distretto* (the precincts) of *Prato*) do allow the great Duke a *Rassegna* of three hundred, which I haue seene foure times trained (for they muster and are exercised once a month throughout his state) then eight hundred thousand will allow fifteene thousand after that rate. But if it be answered that vpon the frontiers of the church and in the *Maremma*, there is a greater *Rassegna* then in other places, and so the proportion not to hold, I reply, to answer this with sufficient recompence, there is no mustering of Souldiers nor any *Rassegna* in the cittie of *Florence*, which is a good part of the whole. So that of this I am sure, that in *Florence*, *Prato*, *Pistoia*, *Pisa*, & their territories, there are not in all about two thousand two hundred: I should therefore thinke it strange and very disproportionate, that there should be about twenty thousand in all. It may be demanded why they of *Florence* are not trained as well as the rest; the reason is, *manet alia mente reposita tyrannis Papa, & consensus Imperatoris*, Pope *Clement* vsurping, and *Charles* the fifth consent, sticks still in their stomacks. For they haue not yet forgot that their fathers were free & commanders ouer others) & therefore

they are not onely prevented of this meanes which peradventure at sometime or other they might take, but they be also debarred the hauing of any Armes in their houses, or of wearing any weapon by their sides, except he be a knight of the order, or a trained Souldier, or an officer, or one that hath especiall licence for the same, whereof there be many Gentlemen in *Florence*, according to the fauour they haue with the Prince: and as he is secured of them. The like is through the whole state, in so much as many will sue to be trained Souldiers (a thing which with vs they would gladly auoide) because they might be priuiledged to weare weapon, but especially (which is also a freedom granted to men of this profession) because they might not be arrested for debt.

His forces at Sea and land are these already remembred, beside one hundred Launces which he keepeth in *Siena*, & some fiftie light horse in his owne stables at *Florence*, besides foure hundred more in other places of his state.

His entrate

His *Entrate*, is by diuerse men diuersly estimated, some say one Million and a halfe, others one Million and a hundred thousand, and some there be that say it is as much as both these summes. Howsoeuer it may be thought that the least of these is a great matter for so small a State, whether we call it small in regarde of the circuite, the number of the People; or lastly the barrennesse of the soile, out of which the Subiects wealth and Princes Taxes should be raised. This may well be proued by comparing this state with that of the Duke of *Ferrara*, which is not much lesse in continent then this of the great Duke, and the soile generally much more fruitful, yet is the reuenue of this great Duke almost thrice as much as that other. An apparant argument of the ouer-charging of his people by Taxations & impositions more then their neighbours: yet are the subiects of the state of *Venice* lesse charged then these, & they vnder the Duke of *Parma* least of all; onely they of the kingdome of *Naples* haue as much cause to complaine as the *Tuscans*, or any other subiects in *Italy* whatsoeuer. As for the truth of those three opinions, which of them hath best interest therein I dare not determine; I will onely adde to these generallities such parti-

particulars as are commonly knowne, & of all confessed, with some other specialties which are of most men either purposely (because vncertaine) omitted, or else negligently related.

The opinion of them that rate his Reuenue at 1100. thousand Duckets is directed by this particular:

He hath say they, out of the *Gabell* or Toll of the

Gates of <i>Florence</i>	100.	} thousand Duckets.
<i>Dogana</i> or Custome-house at <i>Florence</i>	100.	
<i>Gabel</i> vpon Salt through that State	120.	
Vpon Corne through that State	120.	
Vpon flesh through that State	80.	
Vpon <i>Dowers</i> and Bargaines	70.	
Vpon condemnations and Suites in law	65.	
<i>Pisa</i> and <i>Linorno</i> yeeld yearly	70.	
<i>Pistoia</i> yeeldeth yearly	60.	
<i>Arezzo</i> yearly	20.	
<i>Volterra</i> yearly yeeldeth	15.	}
<i>Cortona</i> yeeldeth	20.	
<i>Monte Pulciano</i> yeeldeth yearly	10.	
<i>Fiesole</i> a desolate Cittie yeeldeth	2.	
<i>Colle</i> a City of five yeares old yeeldeth	3.	
The Cittie and State of <i>Siena</i>	240.	

All which together make the summe of 1095000. which within five thousand Duckets agreeth with the said sum.

This accompt shall appeare not to swarue much, if we examine each particular. First for the Toll of the gates of *Florence* and custome out of the *Dogana*, it is apparently knowne that the great Duke lets it out at two hundred thousand Duckets the yeare at the least, reckoning withall of all other impositions one fourth part of that whole State, which is probably supposed to be gathered hereout. There is paid also throughout the whole state, eight in the hundred for marriages, as if the womans portion be a thousand duckets, the Prince hath thereout eighty. The like proportion is paid for buying & selling of houses or land. But the letting of houses or land payeth the tenth: for Cattell bought and sold, he hath also a *quaglia*, that is six-pence Sterling in euery two Duckets, and though the Beasts be bought



bought and sold twice in one houre, he hath still after the same rate. Furthermore, besides his impositions vpon the Banckes, he hath at euery alienation eight in the hundred; that is, when the father or possessor dieth, the sonne or next heires payeth after this rate for his patrimony left him. He hath also an entrate out of the *Burdell* stewes, which is thought at the least thirty thousand crownes a yeare in *Florence* onely there being some eight thousand Curtizans in the towne, these pay euery moneth a liuer nine-pence sterling to the great Duke, because heere the market is somewhat quick, though in *Sienna* they pay but a *guglio* monthly, they pay also a *Liner* a moneth not to weare the yellow list the badge of their trade, if they stand out of the *Burdello*, if they be priuiledged to go to any mans lodging, or if they weare mans apparell, for each of these priuiledges they pay *Gabell* also. The Lewes here also from fiftene yeares vppward, pay two Duckets the yeare.

Bread.

Concerning the *Gabell* vpon bread, true it is, that he hath vpon euery Stay that is ground two *Cracie*, three halfe-pence of ours, so that by this rate he hath of euery quarter of our measure, the summe of eightene-pence of our money. If then it be supposed that euery one in the state of *Florence* eate twelue *Stais* a yeare, which is as before a proportion ordinary, the summe will not much differ from the rate of one hundred and twenty thousand Duckets.

Flesh.

Concerning the flesh, it is to be vnderstood, that the great duke hath for euery pound that is eaten fise *denari*, wherof 20. make a *Cracia*, so that he hath of euery Stone that is eaten of our weight, the value of three-pence of our money.

He hath vpon euery pound of Salt spent, ten *quattrini* gaine, that is three halfe-pence of our money: so that after the rate of foure and twenty *Maggia* the day, for three hundred dayes in a yeare, allowing the other sixtie fise for holly-dayes, he gaine two hundred and sixteene thousand, seauen hundred sixtie one Duckets, whereof allowing almost one halfe for the state of *Sienna*, because there he hath no imposition vpon Salt, the sum will accord very neerely with the particular abovesaid.



As for the *Dogana* of *Livorno*, being the Gate as it were through which all marchandize passe into those parts of *Italy*: and for *Siena*, being the roade from *Venice* and *Florence* to *Rome*, it is to be credibly supposed, that both the one and the other yeeld no lesse benefit to the Prince then is aboue rated; the like is to be thought of the other Cities.

*Dogana of Livorno.*

But ouer and besides all this, it is to be considered, that in the whole State of *Siena* he hath a *Gabell* by the Pole as we call it in *England*, that is vpon every head a certaine rate, (I thinke eightene-pence) besides an allowance for feeding of their cattell, whereof in this State is reasonable good store, much more then in that of *Florence*, whose wants it supplyeth, especially of Swine, by reason of their great store of Mast, for which they pay halfe a ducket the Swine, whereas in times past they paid but one *quiglin*: they pay also for the killing eightene-pence, and other such like impositions. Insomuch as talking with two Gentlemen of *Siena* concerning these matters, men of good qualitie and experience, they auowed that the great Duke had as good as a Ducket vpon every mastd Swine before he come to the owners table. They farther alleaged, that howsoeuer they were exempt from the *Gabell* of the *Macina* as they call it, that is of paying for their Meale, Salt, and Flesh, yet notwithstanding all things considered their burthen was no whit lighter then their neighbours of the other State, that paid all these. To which purpose they protested, that of their *Villa* which they let to halfe to the *Contadino* (the labourer) there fell not in the reckoning, (all taxes, tallages, and impositions defalked) aboue one third to themselves, another to the *Fermar*, and the rest to the Prince. A strange proportion we may thinke, that liue in such blessed happinelle, and farre beyond all Taxes, Subsidies and Priuy-seales whatsoeuer. But what compare I the heavy *Dynasty* of small *Tuscany*, with the flourishing Monarchy, and happy gouernment of great *Brittany*.

*Gabel by Pole.*

He hath also no small matter of the *Camere Locande* lodgings for strangers, and the Innes in the State; of some fortie, of others fiftie, & of some foure-score Duckets, every third ycare:

*Camere Locande, and Inne-keepers.*

be hath also in some places his Bake-houses, where the Inne-keepers are enjoined to take their bread of him. Though this exaction be so great vpon the Innes at *Florence*, and in the road way to *Rome*, notwithstanding in *Pisa* the yoake is not so heavy, there the manner of raising the *Gabell* is thus. At every three yeares end, all the Inne-keepers in the Cittie are to appeare at a Court in the *Dogana* kept for that purpose. There it is cryed by the Officer, that such, and such an Inne, paid these last three yeares so many Duckets to the Prince, who biddeth more? There is a Candle set vp light and while that lasteth, it is lawfull to lone and bid for the same, and he that biddeth most shall haue it. Wherein this one thing may seeme more strange, then that which hath beene already enformed concerning a mans Corne, that in some cases he cannot make his prouision of his owne; for here if another will giue more for the Inne then I, though the house be mine owne, he shall haue it, paying me onely my rent, and I shall be forced to seeke another. I haue onely this priuiledge aboue another, that I offering as much as he, I shall be first serued. The Inne-keeper of *Pisa* where lye our English Marchants, auowed this to be most true; he paieth for these three yeares forty Duckets. His Highnesse hath also vpon all things sold in shops, a *Matricula* (as they call it) which is not to be paid every yeare, but onely once, when the shop keeper setteth vp; which in some shops commeth at least to an hundred duckets. One that selleth stockings, trusses, shirts, sockes & such trash, told me that at his first beginning he paid his *Matricula* for Wollen cloath twenty *Florents*; for Linnen cloath as much, and for Buttons Silke and Threed as much, which in all commeth to thirty gold crownes. To conclude this point, there is not that trade, nor that man or woman whatsoever, but of them this Prince hath his Tribute, more or lesse, not so much but the poore feely widow, which the whole yeare Spinneth, payeth seauenteene Solls, that is about eight-pence Sterling.

*Lazaretto.*

I haue not heard of any that are free but the *Lazaretton* or Hospidall, & the begger that goeth from doore to doore only,  
for

for (which hath partly beene said) there is not that poore Asses burthen of dung that goeth out the gates, nor that Radish roote that commeth in, that paieth not his *Gabell*; except they haue the cunning to deceiue them that keepe the gates, men whose eyes will pearce what *Valigia* or basket soeuer: and if it chance they be detected, they loose the thing hidden without redemption. I saw a poore *Contadina* Countrey-woman, who comming to the gate to pay her tolle for a Basket of Lettice she brought in: one of the foxes, who I thinke could smell a goose, for he could not possible see any, searched vnder the hearbes, and finding one dead without feathers, sent the poore woman away halfe dead for sorrow, without her goose. And they told me, that if a Gentleman of *Siena* should come out at *Florence* gates, with a chaine of gold new bought about his neck, howbeit worne betweene his doublet and Ierkin that it might not be seene to saue the *gabell*, that being discovered he should not loose his Chaine onely, but his horse also.

Concerning all the taxes and impositions, certaine it is, that they which rate the great Dukes *Entrate* at eleauen hundred thousand Duckets, comprehend onely such as are ordinary & certaine but of the rest which stand on casualty, and are vncertaine they cannot determine. And sure I am of this, that besides many particulers heere remembred, as also the Rents and Reuenues of his proper lands belonging by many descents to him, of others not accounted in this valuation of his yearely *Entrate*, there is yet one thing behinde vntouched or thought of by others, which will appeare no small matter, and is this:

In euery Citty and towne corporate (as I may say) in *Tuscany* there was before their subiection to the family *Medici* a *Comunità* that is, an *Entrate* in cōmon of the Citty, by which all publick charges were defrayed; all officers maintained, and many other good and charitable workes performed. This *Entrate* arose vpon the Tenth & Tithes of euery mans crop or fruit: (for in *Tuscany* the parish Priest hath them not, he hath onely his offering & Church-rights, with a house and some certaine ground thereto belonging: as yee would say Glebe-land.)

Impositions  
and Taxes  
ordinary.

Casualty.

Comunità

It grew also vpon the bread and flesh, thus; euery file of bread as they tenure it, cost a *quattrino* the signing, euery Bullock cost foure *Linere* the killing, euery Swine two, euery Weather cost two *guigly*. There were also in times past people of charitable disposition, who dying without children made the *Communità* their heire to their goods and land. which they call the *Entrate* of the *Ceppe*, that is, the Stock, and is a member of the *Communità*. Now that which did yearely remaine of the *Entrate*, all charges deducted, was put to the common Treasurie for to helpe in time of dearth or warre, or such like publick necessity. An example hereof I will take the towne of *Prato*. Here the *Entrate* of the *Communità* is twenty six thousand Dockets the yeare, the *Entrate* of the *Ceppe* is eight thousand, in all thirty foure; hereout they allow the *Podestà* one thousand, the Capitaine of the trained Souldiers, six hundred, the Chauncellor five hundred, they allow for a feast euery two moneths among the eight *Pricori* at the choosing of their *Gonfaloniere* twenty duc-kets. They allow their Iudge, who is a Doctor of the Ciuill law, five hundred, also the wages of the *Bargello* and *Sbirri* (as one would say the Vnder-shiriffe and his Sergeants) the wages of the Trumpetters, the stipend of foure Schoole-maisters, the salarie of two Philitions and two Chirurgions, the keeping of ten Schollers at the Vniuersitie in *Pisa*, also the maintaining of two Hospitals, one of Bastards th'other of sick, aged, and impotent persons, whereof there are in all to the number of three hundred and fiftie: besides the giuing of portions to poore maides that are married from hence, or to young boyes that are put to some occupation, as also the Almes euery Friday of fourteene *Stia* of Corne, two barrells of Wine, and one of Vineger giuen to the poorer sort. And lastly that which they giue to the *Pouerri Vergognosi*, that is, such householders as are poore and are ashamed to beg, whereof there is consideration had by the foure that are in office for that purpose: These and all other their common charges, as trimming of Churches, repairing of Bridges, mending of high wayes, and such like, being defrayed, it is certaine, that there yearely remaineth one fourth part at the least:

Ceppe.

Cathopolis.

which now goeth not to the common treasure, as in times past, but to the great dukes coffers: the like is to be said of all other places in this Dukedome.

But it is to be observed, that before this money which reful-teth of the *Comunità* be carryed to Florence to the dukes Exchequer, it is put into the *Monte di Pietà* the Bancke of Pitty: a place where any poore man may pawne his household stuffe, or cloathes, or whatsoeuer els is worth money (provided alwayes the gage be worth more then the money) he taketh this money he hath for a day and a yeare after five in the hundred. And if at the time he returne not to redeeme the thing engaged, it is sold by Trumpet, for what can be gotten where-out the principall and interest being taken, the poore man shall haue the rest. So that the great Duke hauing this ouerplus, for now it is their Prouerbe, *Il Duca è la Comunità* in euery City and great towne, and the vse besides for the money, which will amount to a round summe through the whole State (for there be of these Banckes in euery place) it is to be coniectured, that his whole *Entrate* is a greater matter then it is ordinarily taken for, of them who esteeme it at one Million and one hundred thousand Duckets, I should rather condescend to them, that rate it at one Million and a halfe.

Concerning his expenses it is harder to guesse at, then his *Entrate* those of the Duke *Francesco* were supposed about five hundred thousand Duckets; these of this Duke they say be much lesse. And as the Duke his brother had diuers Capitaines and men of command his Stipendaries, who receiued of him some three thousand five hundred duckets the yeare, some three thousand, some two, and some lesse, according to their nobility, and the qualitie of the place, wherein they had charge, so is it to be thought, that the Generall of the foote, the Collonell of his horse, the generall of his Galleis, and other inferiour Commanders, who vpon occasion are bound to serue him in their places, are with sufficient pension rewarded, each particulers pension, how much it is, without more certaine information then I had, I dare not presume to say: choosling rather to be defectiue

Monte di  
Pietà.

His expen-  
ces.

His expence  
on horse.

in a generallity, then being too particuler to erre.

As for his expence vpon his troope of horse, the Lance hath  
7. *Piastras* (1. five shillings 3. pence a peece) a moneth, the light-  
horseman hath three now in the time of peace, in warres a bet-  
ter proportion. The Souldier in all his garrisons hath foure *Pi-  
astras* a moneth, the officers proportionate, each in his place to  
this rate. As for the trained Souldier, he is (in peace) no charge  
to the Duke for he findeth himselfe shot, powder, armour, wea-  
pon, and all things necessary, and is bound to keepe them in  
good order; the Captaines and officers of these are paid out of  
the *Communità* as hath beene abouesaid. The charge of his  
Galleys allowing (as *Don Antonio Doria* in his discourse how to  
resist the Turke at Sea doth proportion, that is,) each moneth  
five hundred gold crownes a Galley, cometh in the halfe yeare  
which time they be commonly at Sea, to the sum of eighteene  
thousand gold crownes. The charge of his Court, as by the  
number of persons therein aboue enformed, may be collected,  
cannot be great. I haue heard one of his seruants say, that the  
Steward is allowed for *Spezierie*, Spicery, fifteene thousand  
duckets, & that all other charges may treble so much more. As  
for all officers of Court, but these few before remembred, they  
feede at their owne tables; His Pages (which are Gentlemens  
sonnes of the City, or other places) in number as I take it six-  
teene, are at his charges kept at Schoole: & at dyet in the City:  
His *Staffieri* or Footemen are allowed six *Piastras* the moneth,  
they are about thirty. His garde of *Smiffes* haue foure *Piastras*  
the moneth; both these and they feed at their owne charge, or  
soiorne at some place, for they haue no allowance out of the  
dukes kitchin, not so much but the Cookes as I haue heard, ha-  
uing done their office, go to their owne houses to meat. A buil-  
der this duke is not at *Liuorno*, where indeed is very great cost  
bestowed, & very many daily working: howbeit considering  
the labour of his Galley-slaues, which all the winter are there  
imploied, and of many poore men in the country which vpon  
light faults are thither confined, whose labour he hath paying  
nothing, it may appeare the charge is not halfe so much as it

would

would cost another. There are also to be considered these expenses, which they call *spese segrete*, secret charges, & no doubt are very great, for that this Prince maketh his way to many effects of much importance by money; as namely in the Court of Rome, where although the Pope that now is was chose without the good wil, or rather quite against the desire of this Prince, & although the family *Aldebrandini* was alwaies an empeacher of the *Medicis* greatnesse, and though likewise the father of this Prince executed the father of this Pope; and albeit lastly this Pope desireth nothing more, then that by his meanes his native countrey might recover her former liberty yet notwithstanding so strong is this Princes faction in that Colledge, and so many his friends by meanes of his money, as he resteth secured from any such danger. The like intelligence it is said he hath in the Spanish court by presents and penfions to the *Infanta*, & others of the Counsaile, so as by his money he is able to diuert what purposes soever. He hath also at his maintenance secret espials in Florence for his better securitie, as not yet forgetting the treason of *Pucci* in his brothers dayes.

Concerning his Coines, there is the gold crowne of eight *Liners*; the Ducket of siluer seauen *Liners* (which is there called a *Piastra*, and so much must you value the ducket in all this discourse; the halfe Ducket, the Testone, two *Liners*; the *Liner* one *Ginglio* & a halfe; the *Ginglio* which is six-pence sterling; the halfe *Ginglio*; all these are of siluer. The *Crazia* of Brasse, with a surface of siluer, the value three-farthings sterling; And last y the *quattrino*, which is the fift part of a *Crazia*: there was also in times past the *denaro*, the fourth part of a *quattrino*, whereof one hundred & three-score were sixpence sterling, but now there are few of them to be seene, none to be paid. They of the countrey will complaine that now they haue none but *Moneta grossa* great money: It was a good world say they, when we might haue chaged a *quattrino* into 4. *denari*, & with these haue bought herbes, vineger, oile, & Salt, the 4. substantiall parts of a sallet, & this the better part of an *Italian* dinner; whereas now it wil cost the so many *quattrini*: a great alteration, a grosse sum.

As



His abso-  
lute rule.

As touching the manage of matters of State, the administration of Iustice, and the disposing of Offices, true it is that the great Duke, though all matters do abso'utely and plenarily depend vpon his will and pleasure, yet notwithstanding he will for the most part haue the iudgement and counsaile of the Archbishop of *Pisa*, a man who for his dexteritie of wit, and experience in matters of State, hath purchased himselfe great credit and reputation with his Prince; next vnto him he hath other his Courtiers, to whom sometimes he will communicate some causes, but neither all, nor alwayes: which causeth the Prince to be more absolute, procureth his Counsels a more secret proceeding, giueth his actions a more speedy dispatch, and peraduenture also a more happy issue: so that it cannot properly be said of this Court, that there is a Counsell of State, but that euery thing immediatly hath his motiue, procelle, and ending of the Princes will and pleasure.

Admini-  
stration of  
Iustice.

Concerning the administration of Iustice, and election of officers, it differeth not much from the auncient custome of that Citie when it was free, the diuers Magistrates and the manner of new choosing them is this.

The Ma-  
gistrates.

There is in the City of *Florence* the *Gran Consiglio*, the Seminary as it were out of which all other Magistrates are chosen. Of these some are elected by the great Duke himselfe, as the *Quaranti Otto* of the chiefe Cittizens, and such in whom his Highnesse most affiecth. Of which nūber there must alwaies be one at the least in any other of importance. But the Lieutenant of the City, and the *Sei Consiglieri* must be all out of these fortie eight, and these also chosen by the Duke, as likewise the *Dodici di Collegio*. Other Officers are chosen by *Ballot*, as the *Commissari*, the *Proneditori* the *Capitani*, *Vicari*, *Podestà*, and diuers others. For all they that haue office & place of command throughout this state of *Florence*, are Gentlemen of that City, as they of the other are all Gentlemen of *Siena*.

Gl' otto di  
Guardia.

There is also in *Florence* the *Gl' Otto di guardia e balia*, an office of great authoritie, for these onely giue sentence of life and death, and iudge in criminall causes, these haue their place only  
four



four moneths. In this office the Prince hath alwayes a Secretarie, a *Beneplacito*. his name now in place, is *Buoninsegni*, who ever goeth to his Highnesse to informe him of the matters in the Court, before they be by the *Otto* determined, and this office hath intelligence of all matters in all criminall Courts in the state, by whom the Courts have directions from the Prince before they proceed, to the iudgement or execution of the malefactor.

Buonin-  
segni a Se-  
cretarie.

An instance of this we had this January last past, which I the rather remember to make knowne, what care his highnesse hath to give our countrey good satisfaction, of whom all English Gentlemen receive very gracious favours, as to be admitted to the presence at any *Festa*, *Reuells*, or other time of extraordinary sight, also to have the priuiledge to weare Armes, and other such like. An English Gent'eman was by a base groomme of the house where he lodged, throwne into the *Arms*, for the money he was supposed to haue in his lodging; the offender, vpon suspicion being apprehended, and receiuing the *Strappado* diuers times, and in the highest degree, notwithstanding persisted obstinately in the deniall. The lawe is there that except he confesse the fact he cannot be executed, how pregnant so ever the presumption be against him; insomuch it was thought he should haue beene discharged: wherevpon the court sent to his Highnesse for direction; he returned them order to vse all manner of torments which possible, or in any cases that court could inflict, and if yet he would not confesse to torture him till he dyed. According to this commission they gaue him the *Sueglia*, a kinde of torture, where hauing receiued a drinke to procure sleepe, the Tortures ever when he noddeth whip him with small plummets, he sitteth bare vpon an Yron like the back of a knife. and hott Bricks vnder his feete to burne him. if he would ease himselfe that way. It is reported he endured this also, till they came to give him *L'Arco* the Bowe, at which he confessed. This done he is carried before the court, there freely to say, whether he confessed for feare of torment, or that it is the very truth he said: if he answere it, they proceed to iudgment,

The dukes  
kinde re-  
spect of the  
English.

ment, if otherwise, he is returned to the torture; for this is the onely way to proceed as is before said, how apparent soever the matter be, vnlesse it be proued by two witnesss. As for witnesss, it is there hard to be had, being holden a dishonourable thing to be a witnesss, or an enformer, a *Spia*, as they terme it. Insomuch as if an offence be committed in the streetes in the view of diuers Gentlemen, though they were not of the action, no nor of the company, notwithstanding they shall haue the *Strappado* to confesse the matter, which rather then doe, they will suffer. So that to haue the *Strappado* in Florence is no disparagement, except the cause make it so. But to returne to this matter, which I haue of purpose remembred, to make it appeare how these courts euen in small matters receiue directions from the Prince. After this fellow had auouched to the Court that he did the fact, they sent againe to his Highnesse to know how they should proceed. He returned, that the malefactor should loose his right hand at the doore where was the Gentlemans lodging, and from thence to be drawne to the place of Execution, there to be hanged and quartered, which was accordingly performed.

Other officers.

To discourse this at large of each other officer and Court in this City of Florence, would be ouer tedious: I will therefore onely name the rest, or at least with one word or two passe the ouer. There is the office of the *Proconsolo*. The six *Capitani delle parti*. The six *Vfficiali de Monti*; the *Vffizio delle Prestanze*, *Linoue*, an office of great authoritie, without whose especiall licence, no man may arrest or commence sute against a Courtier or a Souldier, or a stranger. There are the *Otto Conservatori delle leggi*. There be the six *Guidici della Ruota*, which iudge in all causes ciuill, these onely may not be *Florentines*. Also *La sei della Mercantia*, before whom come all matters of paying or receiuing of debts, these onely haue authority to commit to prison for debt. There be also the *Maestri della zecca*, Mint maisters, *La Banca de Pagatori*, these pay all Courtiers, souldiers, & other *Prouisionati* & seruants of his highnesse. Furthermore, the *Vffizio d'Onesta*. These haue authority ouer all actions & pleas of con-  
trouerfie

trouerie arising in the *Burdello*: here the whore shall have remedie against her customer that denieth payment of the price agreed vpon: and if he alledge her vnworthinesse, she shall be searched, and according as the Court findeth, sentence shall be giuen: with much other such stufte, which better becometh that Court, then this discourse to treat of. The office *de Pupillis*, the office *di Cambio*, the offices *della farina del sale*, *della grafia*, *dell' abontanza*, *delle decime* & many such other; besides the offices of the leaue companies, the *Doganiere* in the Custome house; the *Gabellieri* at the gates; the *Buon'huomini dello stinco*, to provide for Prisoners; the *Buon'huomini di san Martino*, to provide for the poore, & infinite such other inferiour offices.

Concerning all these offices abovesaid, me thinkes that some of the may fitly be called officers of the Crowne, because they be appointed by the Prince in all chiefe townes of his state, to gouerne & to looke into the counsels and actions of others, as hauing places in them, but no voices. These hold their office for a yeare, and then are either vtterly discharged, or else removed to some other. Such officers of the crowne we may call the gouernour of *Siena*, the Commisary of *Pisa* and *Pistoia*, the *Podestà* of other places.

Officers of  
the crowne

As for all other officers, they may well be called of the body politick, because they retaine the same number, order, and proceedings (with some litle difference already touched) which they did when it was a free state. Thus doth the great Duke serue himselfe of persons to administer Iustice, & to command vnder him with names, such as in former times they had, that by this small shadow of auncient liberty, in some sort he might satisfie the ambitious humor of the citizens, which desire to be in authoritie, and also pleasure them with profit & gaine, which by these honours and publicke offices they doe make.

Officers of  
the body  
politique.

Concerning their law it is imperiall, intermingled notwithstanding with some exceptions and promises Municipall. As touching their punishments, which be either crumenall or criminall of the purse or of the person, they haue part y bin remembred already: there be also others as of condemnation to the galleis, of confining, of banditing and such like: but omitting

The Law.

what else here might be said, I will end this discourse with a word or two of the last branche of this relation, namely of the people themselves.

The People.

The consideration of the civill fashion and honourable carriage of the Nobler and better sort of *Tuscanes*, &c of the savage and Gotish behaviour and insolence of the Pesant, makes me of opinion with *Lipsius*, that those are of the race of auncient *Romaines*, retaining still a relish of their vertue from whom they are deriued: and that these are descended from the barbarous *Gothes* and *Cymbrians* (who sometimes swarmed in *Italy*) hauing still the tainte of their inhumanitie. True it is, that this iudgment holdeth generally more in the Pesant thē the Nobility, for that we find these more to decline from vertue, then those to swatue from the vices of their Progenitors. And to proue that this is true, I will without any further censuring referre you to the report of an *Italian*, who being their countreymā should know them better, or at least (I am sure) be more partiall. *Boterus* in his vniuersall Re'ations, speaking of the *Florentines* saith, they be,

His nature.

*Parehi, ritirati, poco amici da forastieri, tenaci del denaro, providi dell auenire, cupi, cogitabondi, d' animo sempre rivolto all interesse, intenti al guadagno:* and in another place he giueth them *Sotrigliosa, e d' ingegno, parsimonia, accortezza, diligenza, attitudine all' Arte. vn procedere per appunto, vn star sul vantagio, vn non trascurare cosa alcuna:* that is; they be niggards they liue to themselves, they loue no strangers they are close-fisted they haue an eye to the back-dore, they are hard to be sounded, they are euer biting the lip, their minde euer on their penny, their study still how to gaine. Also, they are men of a shrewd wit, of a spare dyet, of a warie and discreet carriage, very industrious, very apt to learne, they proceed for an inche, they stand vpon the aduantage, they will not loose the droppings of their nose. This writer hath gotten (and worthely) for many his ouersights in that booke, the imputation of a notable lyar, and for his egregious partiallities on the *Spanish* side, the note of a notorious flatterer. But sure had the rest of his Booke beene able in the Ballance of truth to haue holden counterpeasable to this iudiciall

ciall

ciall report of the *Florentines*, he had well deserved the Passport of *Serene* and allowed, *Cum Privilegio*.

And yet by his leave I cannot beleue without some good His wife, reason, that the *Florentine* generally hath such a perious wit, & such a subtile conceit I would sooner subscribe he had a subtile dyet: for as hath before bene said, I am of that *French-mans* minde, that could not finde where that great wit of theirs lay, whatsoever either by *Maccianelli* his report in his historie, or in his person may to the contrary be alleadged. I haue heard of some *English* Gentlemen, whose abode hath bene there longer, and therefore their experience greater, & meanes also very good to entertaine conuersation, that the *Florentine* will be very affable and ready to obserue vs with all possible complement, so long as we will comfort him to the *Bardello*, & giue his loose and lasciuious discourse the hearing, which is euer of his Mistrisse, if not of a worse theme. But if at any time we offer the occasion of any better talke, & would discourse with him about some matter of pollicie, or historie, or Art, or such like, he straight shakes vs off with a shug of the shoulder. *Adiù est, salutes*, we haue lost our companion: in this onely wise, that he will not talke because he cannot. For who will thinke that this people which do all things *alla mostra*, and speaks alwayes *alla grande* (witness their great houses and small furniture of the one, their great words and small matter of the other) would be squeamish of their knowledge if they had it, that haue such quintessence of termes to grace it? Indeed I verily thinke, that when the *Florentine* was Lord and Patrone of *Pisa*, *Pistoia*, *Florentina*, *Arezzo*, and those other Cities, that then he had wit. But now I see not why we should not say of him, as we vse to doe of young vnthrifts, that were lecherish, and haue foolishly spent or lost it. They were well if they had had wit to keep it. I dare say, that if *Maccianelli* were againe liuing, and should see them, that were wont to ride a state, now not to bring a few Leticie from their *Villa*, but at the gate to toll for them he would vnsway that which he had formerly said, and sweare they had no witte. I would not haue said thus much, but that their writers will needs

all of them put the (witt) vpon them, and they forsooth will needs take it. As though witt were confined to *Florence*, and bandited fro all other citties. Let it be concluded of *Florence* as of all other places (without this singularitye) that there be some wise men, but more fooles, and so I will leaue them.

His apenes.

As for their aprielle to learne, whereof this author speaketh, if he meane mechanicall Artes, it is not seene in their shoppes; where yee shall almost haue nothing handsomly done, except workes in cloath of golde and siluer. And as for their liberall Sciences, it is not seene in their Schooles, where in one Vniuersitie yee shall scarce finde two that are good. *Grecians*, without the which tongue, they holde in our Schooles in England a man neuer deserueth the reputation of learned. Indeed it cannot be denied, that in two faculties this towne hath had famous men in Painting and Poetry: and I verily thinke that herein *Italy* generally excelleth. And no maruaile, when all their time is spent in Amours, and all their churches deckt with colours.

His curtesie.

Their nature (he saith) is close and retired, but sure it is, that after some small acquaintance (especially if he hope to gaine any thing by you) his manner is to offer you all possible courtesies, his house, his seruants, himselfe, and what not, he will proffer you his lewell, or any thing which liketh you, and euer importune you to dine with him, with all ceremony and complement; (for here they grow) marry he holds it for the greatest discourtesie in the world, and a *mala creanza*, ill manners to accept any his offers, it is not the fashion of *Tuscany*: for were this custome of taking once vp, the complement of offering would soone downe.

His industry.

What else *Rodericus* saith I hold most true, either of the *Florentines* industry & greedy gaining, or of his parsimony & thin feeding. Especially at his owne table, or at his Inne, where he paieth according to his feeding; but let him come to another mans table, or to a certaine ordinary, and he will hold the last vie with the tallest Trencher-man of all *Midd.* Of whom one may rightly say, as the Poet speakes of the harlott in the

His dyet.

Comedy: at their owne borde, *Nihil videtur mundius, nec magis compositum quicquam nec magis elegans*, but at anothers cost yee shall note, *illorum ingluviem, sordes, inedia*. Though concerning the place it is quite contrary, for the harlots do *pitissare* abroad, and *demorare* at home.

As touching their apparell, it is both ciuill, because black, Apparell. and comely because fitted to the body.

For their names, they be those of the old *Romaines* onely altered with an Italian pronounciation and determination. Names.

Concerning their language, it is the best of *Italy*. As for those Language. vngratefull *Tuscans*, that in no case will acknowledge to be beholden to the *Latines* but will either haue it a mother toung of it selfe, or at the least the daughter of the *Caldean* tongue, for that it hath the *Asixa* as *me, te, se, ne, ve*, and such like, very agreeable with that other language, I dare not giue them credit: for if it were plumed of the *Romans* feathers, I thinke it would be but a naked language. True it is, that from the *French* and *Dutch* tongues it borroweth much, and somewhat from the *Greekes*. As *abbassare, alloggiare, auanzare, cominciare, donna, gagliardo*; and infinite others from the *French*, *Arnese, becco, bruno, brindisi, elmo, fusce, fresce, giallo*, and many more from the *Dutche*. They haue also from the *Greekes*, as *Battezza, catedra, catarro, golfo, gamba, mottegio, rimbombo, rio*, &c. So that if the *Goths* and *Vandals* had also theirs, I thinke this *Tuscan* tongue would be left nothing but her quaint *diminutives*, wherein consisteth her onely grace; as of *Pouero* the plaine song, she runnes a descant of *Pouerrone, Pouerino, Pueretto*, and *Poueraccio*, and so almost of any worde whatsoever. This Language also challengeth to haue a singular grace in her vocall terminations, as in such words as these, *Rinfrescatoio, Temperatoio, Cuiuo, Ascingatoio*, and such like; which they of *Tuscany* say are of a more sweete desinence then any of the *Latine*, and so I thinke, howbeit they must needs acknowledge the borrowing of this elegancie from one of the *Greek* dialects, for what can be more like to *μυρταίοιο θύοι* and *δουλοιοιο υροιο*.

As



Different  
speech.

As for the difference of speech among the *Tuscanes*, I thinke it be as great, as was euer the difference of mindes among the *Italiani*, and hath as many factions: for as we had in times past the factions *Saffidelli* and *Vaini* in *Imola*: the *Cerchi* and *Donati* in *Florence*: the *Bianchi* and *Neri* in *Pistoia*: the *Fregosi* and *Adorni* in *Genoa*: the *Lambartazzi* and *Gerenci* in *Bologna*: the *Colonna* and *Orsini* in *Rome*: the *Imperiali* and the *French* in all. So haue yee at this day one language of the *Florentine*, another of the *Sanese*, the third of the *Lucchese*, and the fourth of the *Pisan*, but the worst of the *Pistoiese*. Yea and in *Florence* it selfe, the language hath now a faction *Guelfic* and *Ghibelline*. Howbeit of these diuersities it is generally held, that the *Florentine* hath the best words, but his pronounciation is somewhat too guttural; and that the *Sanese* hath the best pronounciation, but his words relish too much of the *Latine*: for so saith their prouerbe *Fanella Fiorentina in bocca Sanese*: So that, he that shall haue the teames of the one, and the accent of the other, *Omne tulere punctum*, shall hit the marke.

His cu-  
stomes.  
His iealou-  
sie ouer his  
wife.

It remaineth I speake of their customes, differing from ours. The husband (for the most part) when he goeth abroad, locketh vp his wife (not because he is iealous, (he protests) but because it is the custome.) The Tutor is abused, by the Scholler with all odious misdemeanour, yet dare he not correct him least his father should braue him: I know not two worse estates in *Italy*, then that of a faire wife, and this of a teacher: the one is euer a prisoner, the other alwayes a slave; the one no better then a Birde in a Cage, the other no better then *Geta* in the *Scene*.

His in-  
gence ouer  
his childe.

Concerning quarrels, they are carried thus: the party wronged (if not in some high degree) will challenge the other to fight, if they be both provided it is presently vndertakē, otherwise it is deferred till the next day, or some such short date; the place appointed is commonly in the *Cittie*, and in the chiefeest streete: here they encounter with a good Scull vnder their hattes, a large Maile to their knee vnder their apparell, besides their Gauntlets; so that if they had a *Supersedeas* for their face,

His valour.

and

and would doe as the boyes doe in England (barre striking at shinnes) or as the Schollers of *Padua*, who have places for this purpose: no doubt but *Dametas* and *Clintus* might thus make a tall fray. I saw two gallants in *Pisa* fight thus completely provided, where after a very furious encounter, and a most mercilesse shredding and slashing of their apparrell, with a most desperate resolution to cut one another out of his clothes: They were (to the saving of many a stitch) parted, and by mediation with much adoe made friends.

But if it be a wrong, whereof he purposeth a reuenge, he will waite an oportunitie seauen yeares, but he will take you at the advantage, or else doe it by some others, whom he will hire for the purpose. In this sort were two slaine in *Pisa*: while I was there, the one: a rich Marchant. the other a Knight of the Order, the one coming from his whore, the other going thither. Two also in *Sienna* in seauen dayes. And at my coming hither to *Venice*, (for this is generall through all *Italie*) there were on Shroue-sunday at night seauenteene slaine; and very many wounded: besides that they there reported, there was almost euery night one slaine, all that *Cardinal* time: The occasion of most these quarrels and mischietes arise from the *Bardello*. This is also to be obserued, that the party wounded, whereof perhaps in few dayes he dyeth, will neuer discover by whom he was hurt, except to his Confessor, though he know him very well: neither will the brother or sonne of him slaine, take any acknowledgment of the doer, though by circumstance and presumptions they be very sure thereof, but rather awaite the good houre to crie quittance.

Concerning the wooing & winning of his Mistresse fauour, (I meane as our *English* phrase is, in the way of marriage) he must (as the Poet saith, *Extrema linea amare*) loue faire and farre off: he may sollicite his cause with passionate Letters, or amorous glances before her windowe, or at the Church. (the onely place where such matters are managed) but other eyther time, or place, or meanes, he hath not which are ordinary: Inso-much as many times the match is made before he know eyther

L

how

how the humour of her braine, or vapour of her stomach will be pleasing to his senses of hearing and smelling, which may be one chiefe cause why so many husbands dislike, and of their straying to forbidden fruite.

I should take the course in this Relation, which many husbands doe in their wishes, that is presently after marrying to talke of burying; which also differeth much from ours in *England*: but if I should speake thereof being a Church action, I should also speake of other Church matters, whereof I purposely omitt to speake; as also of all other their manners and customes common with other people of *Italy*.

I will therefore knit vp this little Treatise of this great Duchie, with this abrupt period, namely: That this People liues much discontented, as appeareth by their daily and great, (but Private) complainings: hauing fresh in their mindes their former libertie, and heauie on their backes their present yoaake. That this State is like a body which hath lately taken Phisick, whose humours are not yet well settled, or as a stomach weakened so much by purging, as there is now nothing left but melancholy. Concluding of this people, as of a person that

liues alwayes vnder the hands of a Phisition,

*Qui sub Medicis vivit, misere*

*vivit.*

**FINIS.**

ll  
y  
ur

f-  
to  
in  
n.  
r-  
ad

q-  
es  
ut  
ce.  
ck,  
k-  
ne

out  
IT

og  
ed

ow  
dis

ing  
og

il  
lum

mut  
mte

ate  
mte

ount  
ount